

Delphi in the newspapers

1 August 1854 SOME TREASURES OF THE GLASS PALACE OF SYDENHAM.

The glass palace at Sydenham, of whose external appearance we have before spoken, contains also within itself many productions of art which are well worth seeing.

5 Entering through the door of the great transsept, the eye is at once attracted by the famous works of sculpture which adorn this part of the palace. At the entrance is a copy of the Greek monument known as the Lantern of Demosthenes or Monument of Lysicrates. It is the only one of its kind which has escaped general destruction. Close by are the well-known groups of the horses of Monte Cavallo, which are to be
10 seen in Rome in the Quirinal, and are attributed to Phidias and Praxiteles, without having any other proof than that their names are engraved on the marble. There is also the famous Toro Farnese, found in the baths of Caracalla in Rome and now in the museum of Naples. Pliny attributes this group to Apollonius of Rhodes. Directly opposite, in the other half of the transsept, to make room for the groups of
15 the Quirinal, other statues have been placed, such as: of Castor and Pollux, on horseback, by San Giorgio of Milan, the original pieces of which are made of bronze. In the middle is the equestrian statue of Coleoni, by Andre Verrocchio, the original of which, also in bronze, is in Venice and is considered one of the most beautiful products of the Renaissance style.

20 But, after having cast this general glance at the transsept, one must return to the most interesting part of the palace, namely, to the halls of the fine arts, which are furnished in the style of the various periods to which they belong. The Egyptian halls deserve a first mention. Here one cannot say: Ab Jove principium, for Jupiter resembles the youngest of the family among these Gods and Kings, to whom the ancient
25 Egyptian temples are dedicated. One finds oneself here opposite the oldest sculpture in the world, and what must above all cause astonishment is, that Egyptian art, the oldest and the father of all others, has reached in one leap a height which has remained the same in later years; the two first monuments of the world, the pyramids, are still the largest.

30 Egyptian art, which is the oldest known, has also left behind the most remains. The Egyptians built for immortality, and in this they have succeeded, in every way. By following the rules, which art bound in their strict bonds, they united the highest comprehension with an eminently beautiful execution. They have not only produced everything that has been produced after them, but even surpassed it. In all other
35 nations art passes through the same phases; from its birth it rises rapidly to a high degree of perfection, but then slowly descends again. But in Egypt this is by no means the case. The further back one goes in the course of time, the more perfect is the art; its birth and its zenith are unknown. In the most perfect temples that have been discovered, there are found in the walls stones laid with hieroglyphs on the
40 inside, which are finer and more beautiful in execution than modern art can achieve. Egyptian sculpture was regulated by the religious laws of this exceptional people, and has remained unshaken in its general forms for several centuries.

The Egyptian part of the building is reached by an avenue formed by eight large sleeping lions, which are taken from those in the British Museum. The facade, which
45 looks out over the nave, is a portico of the Ptolemaic period; on the frieze is placed a hieroglyphic inscription in honour of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert. It reads as follows: "In the seventeenth year of the reign of Her Majesty, the mistress of the waves, the daughter of the Kings - Victoria, most illustrious Queen, the directors, architects, painters, sculptors have laid out this palace and these
50 gardens, to serve as an instruction to the men and women of all countries, of all nations." Most of the temples and colonnades in this part of the palace, are not reproductions of existing monuments; they are a collection of the various orders of architecture, borrowed from various sources, and of which a whole has been formed at will, although good taste has not been lost sight of. Copies of Egyptian monuments
55 were of course out of the question, the temple of the palace of Karnac alone was larger than the entire glass palace! All the monuments of this museum are therefore only models on a very reduced scale.

In this way has been composed the first column facade, a model of that order of the Ptolemies, about three hundred years before Christ, when the Greek influence had
60 already brought a certain looseness of style into the massive and, so to speak, priestly order of the times of the Sesostris and Pharaohs. The colour is taken from that of the ruins. On entering the first room, one sees on the walls paintings of battles and processions, taken from a temple of Ramses, situated near Thebes. It is to this same temple, the Memnonium, that the second of the facades present here
65 belongs; it consists of eight columns, in front of each of which is a colossal statue of King Rhamses. These statues originally had a height of thirty feet. It is this facade that has been used as a transition to the well-known gallery of columns at Karnac. It is especially in this gigantic monument that the system adopted

by the English artists gives ample play to criticism. The Egyptian architecture and sculpture are so astonishingly colossal in size, that models of natural dimensions can only give a false idea of the whole. A reproduction on a small scale, which in itself would not resemble the reality, can give a truer idea of the real monument than a picture in which one can move. The colonnade of Karnac in the glass palace, with however much care it may be executed, can therefore give no idea of the original.

This famous temple, the product of Ramses II, the most powerful of the Egyptian kings, who lived about the year 1170 before Jesus Christ, was connected to the almost equally famous temple of Luxor by means of an avenue of sphinxes of more than 2000 ells in length. A hall of it has been preserved, which is more than 1200 feet long and 360 feet wide. Another avenue led to a portal 360 feet long, 148 feet high, with a great gate 64 feet high, which led into a hall 58,000 square feet in size. In this hall stood, with folded arms, statues with shoulders 25 feet broad, whose face was 7, the nose 21, the beard 51, the headdress 14 feet long. These statues were 72 feet high; they could be seen at a distance of 12 miles. In this hall of columns, restored in the glass palace, were 134 columns, of which in the middle 12 were 66 feet high and 12 feet in diameter, the others 42 feet high and 9 in diameter.

The ambition of the Egyptian kings seems therefore to have consisted exclusively in building immortal tombs; for this purpose they piled one temple and one mountain on top of the other. The two great pyramids are tombs. The smallest covers at its foot an area of 11 acres of ground and its four corners converge at a height of 460 feet to one point. The other is 40 feet higher and 40 feet wider at the lower part. At its foot sits the great sphinx, a lion with a human head; it has a length of 80 feet. This pyramid is the largest monument and the sphinx at the same time the largest statue that has ever been made.

Continuing the road along this side, one first comes to the facade of the old temple of Aboo-Simbel, hewn in the rock about the year 1565 before Christ. This facade was 117 feet long and 100 feet high. The seated statues represent Ramses the Great, his mother, his wife and his daughter; they are found in their original size of 65 feet in another part of the palace. The model of this monument is taken at the 1/10 part of the original.

Turning to the left, one finds the portico of the temple of Philae, situated on an island in the middle of the sacred river of Egypt, the Nile; then passing through the hall of Amenophis, one comes to the tomb of Beni-Hassan, the oldest of the monuments, of which a model was provided in the Glass Palace; it dates from the year 1660 before Christ. The paintings inside represent the domestic life of the Egyptians. In the Egyptian museum one also finds copies of the Bull [Stone!] of Rosetta, which was found by a French engineer on the occasion of the expedition to Egypt. On this basalt stone, which dates from the year 196 before the birth of Jesus Christ, there was an inscription in hieroglyphs or sacred letters, in common Egyptian and in Greek. It is thanks to this Egyptian translation that the key to the language of the hieroglyphs has been found.

Of all these curiosities of the most remote antiquity it can rightly be said that the ancient master builders were really great men. They could not borrow anything from anyone. Their own genius alone was their source of information and this made them produce things as great as they have ever been seen. They discovered many rules, which constitute the sublime of art and were far superior to useless ornamentation. They felt all the weight of their calling. The last Egyptian temples, copied from their models, have given the world an idea of the greatness of their architectural order.

In chronological order, after Egypt comes Greece. Entering the nave of the building, one finds oneself before a facade in Doric style, followed by a temple of Jupiter at Nemea, 400 years before Christ. The frieze is decorated with inscriptions and with the names of the principal cities of Greece. In front of the facade are placed groups of wrestlers, of Silenus and Bacchus, of Bacchus and the Fauns. The central door leads to the great hall; this is square, surrounded by porticos and represents the agora of the Greeks, or the forum of the Romans, that is to say a place intended for public meetings. It is of Doric order and the names placed on the frieze are those of poets, philosophers and artists of Greece. The paintings, which will decorate the walls (and which are still being worked on) are illustrations from Greek theology; they are executed under the supervision and according to the sketches of G. Scharf and represent: 1°. Olympus; 2°. the capture of Troy; 3°. the realm of the underworld; 4°. the period of Pericles and Phidias.

In this room one finds collected the masterpieces of ancient sculpture, with which everyone is familiar. In the middle, as the finest stone of this diadem, stands the most beautiful woman in the world, the Venus de Milo, found by Mr. Marcellus in the year 1820 and which now decorates the Louvre in Paris. This is the Venus Victrix. Next to her stands the Venus of Capua, almost identical to the first, and of which

the original is in the Museum of Naples. Furthermore, the wrestler from the Louvre in Paris; the Juno Farnese from Naples, the Naiad from the Louvre, the Faunus from the Vatican; the Faunus from the Capitol, the Minerva Farnese from Naples, the Medicea from Rome, the sleeping Ariadne, which is found in one of the halls of the Vatican, and the Laocoon found in the ruins of the palace of Titus in the year 1506, and which is considered a masterpiece of ancient art.

Continuing along this road, one comes to a covered gallery, where a place has been given to another order of architecture. The square pilasters which support this gallery were found at Eleusis. The ceiling, which is executed with equal talent and taste, is the work of Owen Jones, who is of the opinion that the Greeks painted their monuments and monumental sculpture; and in the copies of the friezes and reliefs of the Parthenon, he has had some parts painted, to serve as a standard of comparison with the rest.

The principal ornament of the bas-reliefs is an imitation of one of the facades of the Parthenon, the most beautiful of all the temples in the world. It is taken to about one-fourth the ordinary size, and this is the largest representation of it ever made. It is here that the value of the remark previously made, concerning the reproduction on a reduced scale of the Egyptian monuments, may be estimated. In the case of the Greek monuments, copies of ordinary size can give a true idea of the original, because the beauty of Greek art lies less in size than in the harmony of proportions. The Parthenon was at its highest point only 64 feet high; it was 228 feet long and 100 feet wide; the columns were 34 feet high and 6 feet in diameter. This famous temple, as is known, was dedicated to Minerva, the patron goddess of Athens. In the cella, in the middle of the temple, was the statue of this goddess, in gold and ivory, a masterpiece by Phidias. It was under the supervision of this artist that the work on the temple was done, of which Ictinus and Callicrates were the master builders. The Parthenon dates from the most beautiful period of art, that of Pericles, 444 years before Jesus Christ.

The first drawings that are in possession of the Parthenon are from the year 1674 and were made by a French artist, Jacobus Carrey, while the Marquis de Nointel was at Athens. These drawings are still in the collection at Paris and remain the most accurate ones that have been in our possession since then, since the Parthenon has suffered new and numerous destructions, both by the ravages of time and by the hand of man. When Carrey made his sketches, the temple of Minerva was a Christian church, and the statues had been removed from one of the pediments to replace them with a peddler. A few years later, in 1687, the Venetians shelled Athens, and the Parthenon, which had been turned into a powder magazine, was badly damaged by an explosion that destroyed the central part of the building, and shattered several statues. It is known that the Turks used the columns of the Parthenon to make plaster, that travellers carried off pieces for their collections, and that Lord Elgin finally brought back the most beautiful remains of the work of Phidias in England. These incomparably beautiful remains, which now adorn the British Museum in London, have been restored to the glass palace. The frieze, representing the feasts of Minerva, extends the whole length of the gallery; part of it, as we have said, is painted; another is white on a blue ground; another is entirely white, so that comparisons may be made. There are also the famous statues brought by Lord Elgin, which have preserved his name. It is believed that the Parthenon contained 44 statues; of these, 13 fragments are now left in London and 2 in Athens; this is all that remains of those beautiful works. The Glass Palace also possesses here a copy of Theseus, which is considered the most perfect of the known fragments; furthermore copies of Ceres and Proserpina, of a head of the horse of the chariot of the night, and of the Fates. On the opposite side of the Parthenon is placed the well-known group of Niobe, found in the year 1580 at the gate of St. John in Rome, and now in Florence. In the halls of the Glass Palace, devoted to Greek works of art, there are more than 200 statues, the description of which would naturally take us too far, so we have confined ourselves to the most important.

The Roman halls differ little from the Greek; there is no Roman art, properly speaking. The conquerors of the world made the conquered peoples work for them. Among the Romans the first artists were the Etrurians, and then the Greeks.

It is known that the Etrurians, now the Tuscans, were a people who were particularly fond of art; but it was not only in this that they excelled; they were also a very industrious people and already carried on a very extensive trade when Rome was still in its birth. The Romans produced great, especially useful works, such as the construction of roads and water pipes. They also built great temples, but the Etrurians made the statues and images of gods, either in earth or in bronze. One of the oldest Etrurian fragments is the she-wolf of the Capitol.

After the defeat of Pyrrhus (275 years before Christ), and the conquest of Sicily, the Romans brought their victorious arms to Greece, and Paulus Emilius, the conqueror of Perseus, King of Macedonia, returned to Rome in triumph with the booty taken in

Greece. He loaded no less than 250 wagons with it, 167 years before the birth of Christ. Twenty years later, in 146, Mummius completed the conquest of Greece; he gave everything up to plunder and took with him a great number of masterpieces, many of which, however, broke or were badly damaged during transport. What the Romans destroyed during their invasions and during the time of their rule over the Greek provinces, is incalculable.

But at the same time a multitude of Greek artists came to settle in Rome, and a new era of art dawned for them as well as for the Romans, – an era of wealth and elegance of production, but also of decline. The simple and ideal beauty of pure Greek art gave place to something more sensual, which worked less on the feeling than on the passions. Under the first Roman Emperors, people were content with an imitation of the Greek masterpieces; and this explains why they often made different specimens of the same heaths. For the beautification of his palace, Nero had five hundred statues brought from Delphi. On the site where this palace stood, Titus had his baths built, and it is there that some famous pieces were later found, such as the Laocoon. The Forum is due to Trajan, and also bears his name; likewise the column, a picture of which will also enrich the glass palace, is from him. The period of Hadrian was the most flourishing; under his reign it seems to have reached a high perfection. It was during the reign of the Antonines that the engraved stones and cameos, which served for many portraits, were made.

In the fourth century, when the seat of the Empire was transferred to Constantinople, the arts, the artists, and the collection of fine arts followed the same path, and were followed by the masterpieces already brought from Greece. But the arrival of the barbarian tribes, who sought only gold, silver and bronze, was a deadly blow to the beautiful collection. Thus the works of Phidias, Polycletus, Lysippus disappeared long before the fall of the Greek empire.

Entering the Roman halls through the nave, one finds oneself opposite a facade, borrowed from the ground floor of the Colisseum in Rome. It is the first time in the history of ancient architecture that one hears mention of the arch style. The Greeks never made use of it. It was therefore thought that the first use of it was made under the Roman rule; but the latest discoveries made in Assyria have proven that the arch dated back to a much earlier age and that it was used extensively at Nineveh, that it was brought from there to Asia Minor, from where the Etrurians introduced it to Italy. In the Roman halls of the glass palace a model and relief of the Coliseum will be placed, which is however not yet completely finished. The great hall is entirely covered and decorated with stones, which imitate the porphyry, malachite and rare marbles, of which the Romans made ample use in their palaces.

The Venus of the Capitol, which is found here, is preferred by many masters to the Venus of Medici, because it is wrought in a purer and more exalted style; furthermore, there is the Venus Genitrix, the Venus of the sea and the Venus of Arles, all from the Louvre. Around the Venus Callipygos of Naples, the Bacchus of the Louvre. Around the hall are arranged in chronological order, the busts of the Roman Kings and Emperors. Here is also placed a relief of the forum at Rome, one of the most interesting for study; the mountain of the Capitol, the ruins of the temple of Concord, the arch of Septimius Severus, the column of Phocas, the temples of Antonius and Faustina, the temple of peace, the arch of Constantine, the Coliseum, the arch of Titus.

On the other side of the main hall are several rooms, of which Roman baths have been made. These baths are furnished entirely according to the original. They have been decorated with beautiful statues; there is the hall of Apollo and the hall of Diana. The Apollo is the one that one sees on the Belvedere in the Vatican, and which has given rise to so many conjectures. The Diana is the one of the Louvre and the Goddess of the hunt.

12 March 1856 MISCELLANEOUS. From Constantinople it is reported that some French soldiers, whose barracks are situated not far from the Atmeidan (the old racecourse from the time of the Emperors), have recently dug up the serpent column buried under the mud there. This column is one of the most remarkable of the few ancient monuments preserved in the capital of the Turkish empire. It consists of three bronze serpents, twisted together, about 25 feet high, and ends at the top in three superbly worked massive serpent heads. These latter were all knocked off by the iconoclastic Turks at the capture of the city, and indeed, as the historians report, the first by Mohammed the conqueror himself. That head is still preserved in the small museum of the former Irene church. Eusebius and Sozomenus relate that this work of art was brought from Delphi to Constantinople by Constantine the Great, and that this column is the same which was placed by the united Greeks, after the battle of Plataea, as the pedestal of a golden tripod made from the booty, in the temple of Apollo at Delphi. The classical writers Herodotus, Thucydides and Pausanias speak several times of this serpent or dragon column. Pausanias, King of Sparta, sought to appropriate to himself

275 the fame of the victory at Plataea by having a two-line verse, in which he was
celebrated as the hero of Plataea, engraved on this column. The Amphictyones,
however, incensed at the unjustness of this boast, gave orders to blot out the words,
and decreed that in their stead the names of all the Greek peoples who had taken part
280 in the war against the Persians should be chiselled on the column. The rubbish which
had accumulated on this spot for fifteen centuries has up to the present day covered
the lower part of this monument, which has suffered greatly through time. It has now
been discovered, however, that on one side of the lower twelve serpentine coils a
multitude of Greek national names can be read, partly in very ancient script, among
285 which are the names of the inhabitants of Ambracia, Lepreae, Tenos, and Corinth. It
is remarkable that up to now no trace has been found of the names of the Athenians
and Spartans; they have probably become illegible through the rust with which they
are covered. A few young German philologists are busily engaged in the complete
decipherment of this remarkable inscription, which dates from the most brilliant

290 (When one compares what Petrus Gyllius in his work: the *Topographia Constantinopoleos*
cap. XII, says about that column or pillar, one will be cautious, with waiting for
further reports about this discovery.)

5 February 1882 From Athens it is reported that the archaeological society has
decided to have the temple of Apollo at Delphi excavated, provided that the
295 Government compensates the owners of the plots above it.

29 March 1887 Greece and France have concluded an agreement concerning the
excavations at Delphi. All the excavated objects remain in Greece, but the French
Government reserves the exclusive right to publish the inscriptions and photographs
for a certain period.

300 9 May 1887 Between the Greek and German governments a treaty was concluded at the
time for the excavations in Olympia that serves as an example of the treaty that the
Greek and French governments are currently concluding for the excavations in Delphi.
According to this last treaty, the French government would have the right to do
excavations in Delphi for five years, but everything that is brought to light would
305 become the property of Greece. The only thing against this is that the French
government would have the right to multiply finds by casts and to depict them in
scientific writings. The Greek House of Representatives will now have to decide
whether or not this treaty will be concluded.

1 August 1887 At the latest session of the archaeological society in Berlin, Mr.
310 Ponikoff gave an extensive report of his research to determine the topography of
ancient Delphi, so world-famous at the time because of the oracle of Apollo. He found
a large number of inscriptions during his excavations and has now made them public.
He was also able to praise the fidelity of the description given by Pausanias. This
research and the excavations took place in May last and later extensive reports on
315 the remains of the world-famous temple and its surroundings will appear in the light.

7 March 1888 It has long been known that in ancient times among the Romans and also
in many parts of Greece no one was allowed to sell without being supported by a
surety who guaranteed to the buyer that the seller was indeed trading his property
and not goods on which his ownership rights could be contested. Such a surety was
320 called by the Romans *auctor secundus*, by the Greeks *bebaioter* or *proapodotas*. An
inscription of the *demos sypaleitos* has now been discovered, from which it appears
that in ancient Attica too the buyer had recourse to such a surety, if the surrender
of the thing sold was contested by others who could claim a right to it. Here too, at
least until the fifth century, the rule seems to have applied that sale and surrender
325 of the thing sold to the buyer was impossible unless in the presence of a third
person, who guaranteed that the seller was disposing of his property and not of
foreign goods. But in Attica after that time the seller himself was the person
responsible to the buyer. In other Greek states, on the other hand, it remained
necessary for a long time to call in the intervention of the surety, of the confirmer
330 of the right of ownership, since no other proof of ownership could be produced. As
late as the second century, for example, the old institution of a *bebaioter* was still
used in Delphi.

11 November 1889 Eduard Engel writes from Greece about "Delphi" to the "N. R. Ct.": A
walk within the perimeter of the old sanctuaries leaves one completely unsatisfied.
335 The excavations that have been carried out up to now have certainly aroused desire,
but they have brought to light almost nothing that can flatter the artistic sense of
even a non-archaeologist. The museum – a room like a stable – possesses, apart from a

few insignificant inscriptions, nothing that is worth seeing. And yet it is my firm conviction, to which I want to give the strongest possible expression here, that there is perhaps nowhere in Greece a soil where an excavation undertaken on a large scale will yield such surprising results as at Delphi. And with much smaller resources than were used at Olympia at the time. Here one need not clear away the thousand-year-old stone dust of two riverbeds at a depth of dozens of m; here one has not much more to do than to expropriate the village of Kastri, as it stands there, and then to take up the axe and the spade under every house, in every garden and on every vineyard, in order to come across discoveries of the highest value for science as well as for art, perhaps day after day. The Greek Government and the Archaeological Society at Athens connected with it are aware of the necessity of such an excavation on a large scale, and also of that of the expropriation of Kastri, completely convinced. But with the best will they cannot find the means for it. Americans, swimming in money, have offered to undertake the excavations and to buy the whole of the new Delphi in advance; in this case everything found would come into the possession of Americans and the archaeological treasures would be transferred to America. On that point the small Greek kingdom from top to bottom understands no joke. Anyone who provides the necessary guarantees for a sensible enterprise is allowed to do excavations. In the past Germany received the permit for Olympia, and Germany has contented itself with the certainly not small honor of having dug up a treasure for science and art from the mountain-high rubble of thousands of years. But Greece knowingly gives away nothing of the treasures of its great past, just as all export of that kind is strictly forbidden. For the rest the offer of the Americans is nothing less than generous; for if even a single well-preserved statue from the best period were to be unearthed under the houses of Kastri, that discovery alone would be able to offset the expenses.

The Greek Government, in conjunction with the German Archaeological Institute in Athens, has had an investigation made into the costs of the excavations at Delphi, and it estimates the costs of expropriating the Kartriotes at only 3/4 million drachmas (f300,000). Once the houses, mostly miserable cottages, have been pulled down, the work can begin wherever one wants. One would think that somewhere in the world there was a millionaire who, if only out of vanity, would throw a few million drachmas on the table to help bring about such a work, for which one would reap eternal gratitude. And if there is no such millionaire, then the German government, Greece's "sister-in-law", as it is now called in the vernacular of the Hellenes, will eventually develop for Delphi the same selfless activity as it showed for Olympia. It does not really matter for art and science who excavates ancient Delphi, but for German hearts it would be more desirable that Germany were not outdone by France, which is pursuing the same plan. The Greeks, even the simple folk here in the village, are convinced that help will come from Germany. It is a pleasure to see with what confidence people in this eastern corner of Europe have turned their eyes to Germany. Smoke rises from the Kastalian source. I have to smile: I involuntarily think of the tripod of the oracle, from which swirling clouds of smoke and so much wisdom arose. And now I have to laugh out loud. There are two tripods before me, not by the bubbling water from the rock cleft, nor is there a Pythian virgin sitting above the tripod, but there are sturdy black kettles on top, and in them boils the washing of the Delphic men, women and children, and suspended high the women of Kastri splash so bravely in the water that the foam splashes away. On a boulder in the cleft, around which grazing lambs and goats hop, sits a black-eyed rascal of 12 years, the village shepherd, crouched down and blowing on his stick pipe. He suddenly stopped blowing, astonished, when he saw a stranger approaching with a cup in his hand to draw a drink of Kastalian water from the spring that springs from the rock cleft.

20 February 1891 – A heated debate was held in the French Chamber about a credit application of fr. 480,000 for the excavations at Delphi. This enterprise is the work of Frenchmen residing in Athens, and important discoveries are expected, which would benefit the French museums. Mr. Le Chevalier raised his voice against the proposal, calling it untimely, now that Versailles and other palaces in France are almost falling into ruins; the money could be better used to maintain these and other State domains. Mr. Dupuy, who defended the proposal, said he could not believe that French legislation would grant the countrymen of Mac Kinley the fame of having excavated the Temple of Apollo. Finally, the proposal was adopted by 341 votes to 61.

10 November 1893 A discovery at Delphi!
– During the excavations at the site where the famous temple of Delphi once stood, a discovery has been made which is of the utmost importance for the knowledge of ancient Greek literature and music. For instance, a stone slab was found, in which a hymn of praise to Apollo is engraved, and above each syllable, the notes in which the

- 405 song was sung are mentioned. It is believed that we now have the key to ancient Greek music, which was sought in vain for so long. The music is by the composer Aristoxenes, a pupil of Aristotle, and dates from the 2nd century BC. According to the convention between Greece and France, the latter country has the right to publish the hymn. A second hymn was found, but this one was not provided with notes.
- 410 3 April 1894 A most remarkable musical performance took place on Thursday in Athens. In the French school of antiquity a two thousand year old "hymn to Apollo" was performed, the text of which with the notes had recently been found at Delphi. The two tablets on which the hymn is engraved were found during the excavation of a building, which was situated, close to the place which was dedicated to the old
- 415 oracle. One of the tablets was unfortunately defective, but the other was still almost intact. This discovery was of special importance, because the fragments of old music which had been found up to now, are not complete enough to give a correct idea of the characteristic of a whole composition.
- 420 Reinach in Paris had set this old music to new notes. The hymn was performed by a quartet of male voices: it made an exceptionally pleasant, though strange effect, and in many respects reminded one of the most beautiful German chorales, the performance was attended by the king and queen, two princes and princesses, many persons of the court, members of the cabinet and the diplomatic corps. The hymn was so well received that it was repeated at the request of the queen.
- 425 25 May 1894 The French archaeologists at Delphi have now also discovered during their excavations the treasury of the ancient inhabitants of the island of Siphnos, which was famous in ancient times for its gold and silver mines. The building is well preserved and remarkably beautiful. It would be of great service to the French, as a reporter from The Standard notes, if they, like the Germans in their excavations in
- 430 Greece, would obtain the help of a few architects.
- 30 May 1894 Among the latest discoveries at Delphi are a horse's head in marble, which probably belonged to the frieze of the Temple of Apollo, six metopes from the treasury of the Athenians, representing fighting Amazons; Theseus wrestling with the Minotaur and other bas-reliefs, which must have belonged to the treasury of Siphnos.
- 435 The score of a hymn has also been excavated, although it is rather incomplete.
- 5 June 1894 Among the latest discoveries at Delphi is a very large statue of Apollo, from an early period of Greek art, and the lower part of an altar erected by Gelon of Syracuse, with an inscription in which the victory of the Tyrant over the Carthaginians at Himera (480 BC) is glorified.
- 440 19 June 1894 At Delphi a column has been excavated, which bears en relief the images of three women, in the spirit of the column in the temple of Ephesus. The drapery of the three well-preserved statues gives an excellent impression that they are in rapid motion. This discovery is considered to be of great value.
- 3 October 1894 The Apollo hymn
- 445 On the second Apollo hymn, excavated by Homolle at Delphi, not only the notes of the song but also the accompaniment with instruments must have been noted. Since the Greeks used a different and older notation for their instruments than for singing, it is not likely that Homolle would have been mistaken. This discovery may therefore provide an answer to the question of how harmony was among the Greeks. The passages
- 450 in Aristotle and Plutarch, which until now were the only sources for the knowledge of harmony among the Greeks, are so obscure that scholars do not agree with each other at all. One claims that the Greeks only knew primes and octaves, the other believes that the Greeks did keep singing homophonous, but that the instruments were allowed to accompany the singing in fifths, fourths or thirds. The hymn that has now been
- 455 discovered will probably settle that dispute.
- As for the text, it is almost identical to that of the first hymn; Apollo's birth on Delos and his battle with the Pytho are sung in it. What is new is that the hymn is concluded with a prayer for Athens and Rome. The poem probably dates from after Christ's birth, and Homolle assumes that it was composed in the second century after
- 460 Christ. The hymn is engraved in two columns on a single marble slab, which has been preserved fairly well.
- 19 January 1895 In an extensive hemisphere, walled in by high and wild rocks, offshoots of Parnassus, on the right bank of the Kephalo-Vrysi, which rises from the source of Oastalis and, forming many waterfalls, makes its way through a forest of
- 465 olives and laurels until it falls into the dried-up bed of the Xero-Potamo, there are three or four white houses: that is the village of Castri, which by a miraculous

twist of fate has risen on the site of Delphi, the opulent holy city, the great gods servile centre of the civilization of the ancients.

For a long time the learned have wondered whether a city so famously renowned could in reality have disappeared so completely, without leaving anything behind it but a few fragments of marble scattered over the ground, and a few mutilated sculptures set aside under the shade of the olive trees in the gardens; whether the Phocidian plunderers, the centurions of Sulla and Nero, the Gauls under Brennus, the warriors of Constantine could thus have doomed to nothing that immense city, consisting of nothing but temples and sanctuaries, peopled by thousands of statues. At the beginning of the year 1891, when the Minister of Education in France put that very old question to Mr. Homolle, the present director of the "Ecole française d'Athènes," the latter did not hesitate to answer that he was convinced that the soil of the village of Castri contained the most precious monuments, and he supported his opinion by mentioning the efforts made by Ottfried Müller, Wescher, Foucart, Haussoulier and Pomtow, and by the observations which he himself had been allowed to make in the region of the Delphic valley.

It is to the last parliament's unfading honor to have accepted his assurance and to have granted a considerable sum for this disinterested undertaking, for none of the excavated works will leave the soil of Greece.

A whole year was spent in expropriating the cottages of the farmers, which had been built on the very spot where the principal buildings were formerly located, around the sanctuary of Apollo.

This was accompanied by many difficulties: although 280,000 francs, intended to indemnify the farmers, had immediately been deposited in the Bank of Athens, they would not allow the work to begin until they had the money in their hands. "Here is my field, here is my hand," said an old woman to the director; lay drachmas on that hand, and I will give that land to you." Those poor people did not want to believe that a signature could have any monetary value and in their simplicity imagined that, after having turned the terrain upside down, they would start to dispute the extent of the possessions that they had bought off. Several times Mr. Homolle wanted to persevere, but the farmers demolished the sheds in a riot and it was a close call that a bloody encounter had taken place: they had to exercise patience.

In the month of October of the year 1892, the first ditches were opened and the narrow-gauge railway was laid, with which the excavated soil was carried away. The result of the investigations was not very satisfactory at first. At the site of the temple of Apollo, where it was mainly thought that valuable sculptures would be found, nothing or almost nothing was found, as if – in the expression of Mr. Homolle – the removal of the statues had been carried out according to a specific plan and regulation had taken place. In the year 1893, at the highest point of the sacred road, which intersected the entire city, admirable remains were uncovered, one after the other, the first indemnities of two years of fruitless labor: pedestals of ex-votos, marble horses, female figures, male torsos, and also terra-cottas, bronzes, and inscriptions, among which were fragments of the accounts of the sanctuary, dating from the 4th century before the Christian era.

Then followed the discovery of the Hymn to Apollo, which enabled Mr. Salomon Reinach to revive a tone poem that had been lost for 2000 years. And finally, the results of the campaign of the past year have gloriously rewarded the sacrifices which our budget had made, as well as the diligence of Mr. Homolle and his collaborators, Messrs. Convert, Bourguet, Perdrizet, Millet, Conve, Jonguet-Blot and Tournaire. The workmen have excavated a crossroads, at which four buildings were situated: one of which formerly housed the treasure of the offerings made to the Delphic god by the people of Athens; another the treasure of the Syphnians, a third the treasure of the Beotians. True, they have not been able to lay hands on the talents, the golden drinking vessels, the precious gems which had been in it, and which had once seized the covetousness of the invaders, but masterpieces have been found which have an entirely different value for the knowledge of antiquity. They are, in the treasury of the Athenians, a series of column decorations of a wonderful art, representing the story of Theseus; then not far from there an archaic Apollo, the work of an archaic master, corresponding in all respects with another figure discovered last year; in the treasury of the Syphnians, the construction of which has been entirely restored, bas-reliefs, representing sacred events, besides warriors fighting, horses that have the same noble and impressive bearing, the same fiery and supple movements, as those famous horses of Phidias, which decorated the Parthenon (now belonging to the so-called Elgin Marbles preserved in the British Museum): yet they were carved a century before those of the Athenian master and differ from it only by the frizzy hair of tail and mane, a remnant of the old tradition. Side by side, moreover, there are works of art, which then bear the stamp of that ideal grace, which for us is the highest revelation of art, and others whose artless stiffness, yet not devoid of greatness, seems to date from more distant centuries.

Yet there is no doubt that they were all made at the same time, but the old masters, attached to the old traditions, worked at the same time as the younger ones, whose conception was broader and newer; this contains an important lesson for criticism, which is too anxious to assign to each school its own narrowly limited date.

540 Among the very latest discoveries, a torso, outstanding in grace and strength, probably the remains of a statue erected for an athlete who had been victorious in the Pythian games, deserves attention, and above all an Antinous in marble, from which nothing but the arms is missing, and which is particularly noble and sober in execution. The casts and photograms of most of these beautiful objects have recently
545 been exhibited at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts. Later they will be transferred to the Louvre, where they will form a separate collection, which will be enlarged according to the progress of the discoveries.

The excavations are still being continued, and Mr. Homolle is about to return to Greece to resume their direction. Convinced that he has not been going wild since the
550 excavation of the principal sanctuaries, whose names he has been able to establish on the basis of the indications given us by Pausanias, he is fully convinced that he will soon be able to hand over to antiquity and art a new and abundant harvest of monuments. Will he find again one of those wonderful statues whose azure tint excited
555 the admiration of the Roman emperors? That would be a more precious discovery than even that of the fabulous offerings, destined by their richness to fall prey to the desire of the peoples and which were piled up in that city of treasures: the golden bricks dedicated by Croesus, the drinking cups of King Gyges, the throne of Midas, the silver dish which fell to Homer in a contest of poets, the golden statue of the beautiful Phryné. Little can be said of it in advance, but the French Ecole
560 d'Athènes, some of whose members are now even making the rarest discoveries on the island of Delos, has the right to be proud of the work it has done at Delphi: it has once again given France the very true and very noble fame of enriching the entire world.

(ANDRÉ SAGLIO.)

565 2 June 1895 – As has been repeatedly reported, the French are busy excavating the site where the famous temple at Delphi in Greece once stood. Recently, important antiquities have again been brought to light, among other things from the theater that belonged to the temple and where the competitions were held. Beautiful
570 sculptures have been unearthed, with representations from the Iliad and the Odyssey. A large number of inscriptions were found on the walls of the theater.

24 October 1895 – The excavations at Delphi, carried out at the expense of the French government, have yielded particularly favorable results this year, especially by the
575 uncovering of the two treasuries of the Athenians and the Siphnians. Thirty largely damaged, but still partly well-preserved marble reliefs have come to light, made to glorify the battle of Marathon. Designed in Archaic style, Zeus, Hera, Athena, Dionysus, Apollo and Heracles appear here as conquerors of the giants, six representations of the labors of Heracles, Amazon fights, etc. All these works of art belong to the period between 480 and 470 BC, when the Archaic character began to
580 disappear. Of the original 28 m long frieze more than 20 m have been saved, containing the deification of Heracles, the race of Pelops, the battle for the body of Sarpedon and the Gigantomachy. Artists of the old and the new direction seem to have worked on this work, partly polychromed.

4 January 1896 The French excavations at Delphi have produced a second find of
585 ancient Greek music in the form of a hymn to Apollo, written on stone tablets. The fragments were dug up in the building, described by Pausanias as the treasury of the Athenians: they form a more or less complete whole with ten of the fourteen pieces, which were discovered in 1893. The remaining four formed a separate hymn, which has already been translated and published. Henri Weil and Theodor Reinach will be charged with the decipherment of the new hymn, which is certainly not older than 146 BC, the
590 year of the conquest of Corinth by the Roman general Mummius.

30 May 1896 A new inscription has been discovered at Delphi, which provides special information concerning the training system for the participants in the Olympic Games of antiquity.

595 12 June 1896 The excavations at Delphi. At the beginning of May, during the excavations at Delphi, near the ruins of the theatre, a remarkable find was made, a bronze statue, of which the head and the upper body were missing. They continued digging and then found the pedestal, as well as an excellently preserved chest piece with a head, of which the eyes were still intact, and finally an arm, whose fingers closed around metal reins. They had discovered the statue of a victor of the Olympic

- 600 Games; here and there they found pieces of the horse and of the triumphal chariot. The statue is 1 m80 high and represents a young man. It is a masterpiece of Greek casting, which was undoubtedly made between the years 470 and 460 BC. There are no exact indications about the artist who created it, but it is suspected that he was a teacher of Phidias, called Ageladas.
- 605 2 July 1896 Olympic Games. Reuter reports from Athens that an inscription has been dug up at Delphi, in which it is described in detail how the competitors for the Olympic Games in antiquity trained. Could the inscription have been buried on the occasion of the last Olympiad, last month?
- 610 23 August 1896 The archaeological finds in Greece.
(Delphi.)
III.
- 615 While the excavations at Olympia have been stopped for some time, or at least are no longer being continued continuously, the scholars of the "French school" at Athens are still constantly busy at Delphi, where they are also constantly making more or less important finds, among others now very recently that bearded charioteer of bronze, which is one of the most important metal works of art of antiquity, whose excavation has been reported everywhere. The fact is that they have only been digging at Delphi for a few years. Before the work of excavation began, there was a Pelasgian wall, fragments of the sacred precincts of Delphi, the fountain of Castalia,
- 620 fragments of statues and sculptures built into the walls, as had been done elsewhere, in the wretched huts of the neighbourhood: this was all that remained of one of the most famous and glorious metropolises of the ancient world. Founded on a terrace of the southern slope of Parnassus, in this land of Krisoa and Phoki, on the blue Gulf of Corinth, protected on two sides by mighty rock walls, Delphi had been for
- 625 centuries and centuries the most glorious sanctuary of antiquity. Not only the Greeks, but also the Barbarians had sent ambassadors to inquire of the oracle of the blind god of light. And gradually unknown treasures, splendid works of art, were gathered together in its treasuries. Pausanias is also of great value in relation to Delphi: the temple of Apollo alone, he said, contains four thousand statues of gold, bronze, iron wood; then the countless shields, tripods, images of animals, ex-votos
- 630 of all kinds, gifts from kings, commonwealths, corporations and private individuals. But the time came when these treasures were carried away. Nero brought 500 bronze statues from Delphi to Rome, the sanctuary gradually lost its significance, the oracle was opposed by the church fathers and finally it was here too Theodesius, who, in 390, slammed the door shut for good. The holy city then became a ruin caused by nature and by wilfulness and soon, throughout the Middle Ages, the shepherds of the village Kastri, meanwhile built on its remains, tended their sheep and goats, where once the highest wisdom had spoken.
- 635 The success that the Germans had had with their excavation of Olympia was an encouragement for the French to attempt similar work at Delphi: in 1881 the French Chamber donated a sum of frs. 500,000 and in October 1892 the work began, which at first met with great resistance from the pastoral population of Kastri. And, although not nearly as extensive as at Olympia, the excavations at Delphi have yielded a greater harvest of important objects: in writings, statues, bas-reliefs, foundations
- 640 of more than seven buildings, bronzes, vases, etc.
- 645 The first important discovery was the treasury of the Athenians on the Sacred Highway: a small building of Penthellic marble of the Aryan order of architecture, whose walls were literally covered with inscriptions. Smashed down by an earthquake, it had suffered relatively little. Pausanias also helped explain the find here: the sanctuary of the Athenians, erected in memory of Marathon, of the spoils of the Persians. If its walls already form a true historical library, on which one has also found important "Hymn to Apollo", which explains so much of the music of the
- 650 ancients, perhaps even greater importance are the metopes of this small sanctuary. There are thirty of them in number, all damaged, and they represent the "labors of Hercules and Theseus". As sculpture they have even greater value than the famous metopes of the Parthenon, brought to England by Lord Elgin in an unlawful manner. But not only do one find works from the heyday of Hellenic sculpture; also important works of archaic art have been found, statues of Apollo, in that stiff, hard style, which remind one of the oldest statues of wood. Of the famous treasury of Apollo, of
- 660 which so many ancient writers have told wonders, nothing more than insignificant fragments appeared to be left. It had been systematically destroyed. They were happier with the treasury of the inhabitants of the island of Siphnos, known as the most beautiful and the richest of Delphi. The excavations have brought it back in its entirety: a work of the 6th century before Christ, and of admirable architectural execution. Around the four walls of the little temple runs a frieze – horsemen, chariots, quadrigas, battles – which is a completely unique complex of sculpture,
- 665

despite the fact that it is a century older than the aforementioned Elgin marbles of the Parthenon. An important franton has also been found from this sanctuary, important although it is, apparently by another hand, a much less beautiful art than the frieze. In one and another the traces of the colours are still very clear; the background is always blue, the horses red, the armour green, the chariots red, blue and green. Two exedras, the stoa of the Athenians, a Greco-Roman tomb, houses, an aqueduct, ruins that have not yet been explained, that is what has been found at Delphi. But before these, some sculptures deserve to be mentioned: a very large Sphinx, among others, a gift from the inhabitants of Naxos. One of the most beautiful sculptures that were found there, are three dancing coriatis, surrounded by leaves and flowers. And now, a good year ago, an Antinous was excavated, which is a worthy counterpart of the Olympian Hermes. A work of Roman origin apparently, but of purely Greek beauty.

Some important bronzes were also found, among others that male statue, which has only been brought back to light a few weeks ago. Such are the excavations of Delphi, which are still continuing and appear to be of the greatest importance for the history of Greek art. Besides the fact that they have yielded valuable indications with respect to the music of Greece, it is hoped that further remains will be found which will reveal the art of painting. To what extent this expectation will be confirmed is difficult to say at present, but what has already been found is of the utmost importance and encourages us to continue.

17 February 1897 Important discovery at Delphi.

Mr. Svaronos, director of the coin cabinet in Athens, has expressed the assumption that the bronze statue found by French discoverers is not Hiero, Tyrant of Syracuse, but one of the kings of Cyrene. He bases his opinion, according to the correspondent of the Standard, on the comparative study of Pausanias on the coins of Cyrene, the ancient province of Africa. According to him, the statue is by the hand of the sculptor Amphion, of Gnossus on Crete. Pausanias already stated that this statue was erected at Delphi by Archesilaus, the king of Cyrene. The poet Pindar, who sang about his reign, also composed the verses that are engraved on the pedestal.

Mr. Homulle, director of the French archaeological school, disputes the statement of Mr. Svoronos, whose guesses have aroused great interest. The statue, which is of the greatest artistic value, is equated with the magnificent statue of Mercury by Praxiteles, which was found at Olympia.

5 December 1898 COMMUNICATIONS OF VARIOUS NATURE.

REPORT by Dr. A. E. J. Holwerda, concerning the scientific journey to Italy and Greece. To His Excellency the Minister of Internal Affairs.

[...] The way in which the Greek collections are made available for study is, in a word, exemplary and it is therefore very regrettable that, for example, in Delphi, which was excavated by the École Française, the Greek Museum Board, headed by the well-known General ephoros P. Kabbadias, cannot yet act with full authority. Understandably, the French stipulated the right of first publication of what was found there, but for a very long time, a decade, and with a ban on all foreigners not only from drawing and photographing, but even from making notes. Every visitor is therefore closely followed by a soldier.

[...]

From Olympia we went to Patras. From there by steamboat to the beautiful island of Ithaca, from Ithaca to Itea Delphi's harbour. It is probably located almost on the site of the old Cirrha. The road to Delphi first leads through a slowly rising plain, covered with olive groves. You see the Delphic mountain country before you, with the white peak of Parnassos protruding above it. On the left you come along the road that leads to the old Amphissa. Soon, however, you climb along slender mountain roads; one then passes through the village of Chryso, which probably lies on or near the site of the old Krisa. Then one reaches the village of Kastri, the old Delphi. A village of that name was located on the site of the old sanctuary. This was demolished by the French school and rebuilt a little further on. The temple area lies on a fairly steep slope, artificially levelled, against the almost vertically rising Phaedriades. It has now been completely excavated. Opposite the great sanctuary lies the temple of Athena Pronoia, of which Aeschylus speaks in the beginning of his Eumenides; when that will be uncovered, the French excavations will be at an end. The sun-house of the Kastalian spring was completely destroyed early on; the water now springs up elsewhere; yet the place where it stood, a few steps beyond the great sanctuary, is still very well recognisable. Our company left us very soon; we stayed a few days longer. On the site of the excavations one obtains a very clear idea of the entire ground plan of this so extensive sanctuary and as in Olympia the buildings mentioned by Pausanias and others could be found almost. It is a pity that not so much of the

upright parts of the buildings has remained. The sculpture that was found and only partly published, is of the highest importance for the history of art. Almost intact a charioteer has come to light, of extraordinary artistic value, certainly the most excellently preserved bronze statue from antiquity. In its artistic style the work is from around 470 before Christ. Pieces of horses and a chariot and of one or two more human figures have been found with it and a limestone slab with an inscription belonging to a pedestal, which must have been that of this votive offering; the one who dedicated it was, according to the inscription, Polyzalos, brother of the Syracusan tyrant Gelo. This discovery means for the excavations of Delphi what that of the Hermes of Praxiteles meant for those of Olympia. The epigraphic discoveries are also extremely important. It is very much to be desired that all the inscriptions found will soon be published. From Delphi we went to Athens, where we stayed a few more days. From Athens we sailed to Constantinople. There we wanted to study the two Museums, especially the new one with its famous Sidonian and Klassomenan sarcophagi. The magnificent Aja Sophia was also carefully examined. Of course we also tried to form a good idea of the city and its location. We went home via Vienna. On 4 May 1898 we returned to Leiden. I have more than achieved with this journey what I had imagined of it. I hope and expect that my teaching will prove to have gained much from it and that in general the study of classical antiquity at our university will benefit from it. The new material I brought back for study is not unimportant. I brought together a collection of photographs of about 700. These carefully arranged and provided with an accompanying description now form an excellent aid for study.

28 March 1899 – After the Egyptian cemeteries have given rise to a new Aristotle, the Delphic stones now also speak. Among a number of inscriptions that the French have found in Delphi in recent years and of which hardly a tenth, 382 texts, has been made known, there is also a small fragment in Stoichedon script, with 13 partly very mutilated lines. The French scholar Homolle has deciphered the content of this with great acumen; it is a eulogy to Aristotle and his cousin Kalisthenes in gratitude for having arranged the lists of the victors at the Pythian games. This work, which was important not only for the Delphic, but for the entire ancient Greek calendar, is lost to us except for a few clues. Now we have not only recovered the original certificate for that writing, but we may even hope that during further excavations the rest of the lists may also be found. In that inscription the treasurer is ordered to have the list of the victors hewn in stone and placed in the sanctuary of Apollo.

1 September 1901 Excavations.
In Greece.

The great excavations at Delphi by the French are almost finished. The last great work was the excavation of the Stadion, the great Pythian racecourse, which is about 178 m long and 25 to 28 m wide. Since the entire sacred area of Delphi consists only of large rock surfaces, it was far from easy to build a racecourse there, at the foot of Parnass. A just idea of the great difficulties with which this undertaking was to be contended is given us by the old documents, which mention in particular the expenses of each subdivision of the work: of raising the ground, levelling the ground, removing all weeds, and sprinkling it with white sand; furthermore, of providing spectators' seats, the lower rows of which were hewn out of the rock, and of the construction of a wooden grandstand, which was also intended for musical performances and plays. Of particular interest to the sportsman are the practical arrangements for the starting line. In order to regulate the starting line properly, two steps were hewn out of the rock for the feet of the runner; he stood on one of these with each foot until the signal was given. Such starting places were provided for eighteen competitors. That these had to take their duty seriously and enter the racecourse soberly, has been nicely proven in an inscription dating from around the fifth century before Christ. It reads:

"Wine shall not be brought into the sanctuary of Eudromos; if it happens, the one who mixed the wine shall offer an atonement to the deity and atone for his guilt with five drachmas; he who informs the authorities of the crime shall receive half of that."

This inscription is engraved on a stone block in one of the annexes of the Stadium. According to some, it proves that immediately next to the racecourse, where a large triumphal tower stood for a festive entrance of the runners, there was a sanctuary dedicated to the hitherto unknown deity of the runners: Eudromos.

1 January 1906 DELPHI.

In a corner of the valley, which resembled a rocky gorge along the southern slopes of Parnassus, lay Homer's Pytho, the later Delphi. Three entrances connected this sacred place with the outside world. One led eastward to Boeotia, the second northwestward

800 to Amphissa, and the third southwestward to Crisa and Cirrha. Delphi was not so isolated as one often imagines. It was precisely at the time when it had reached its highest fame, namely shortly before the Persian wars, that the full stream of Greek life bubbled along Parnassus.

The landscape around Delphi has been painted many times: it is incomparable in its impressive beauty. Whether one came from the East or the West, a bend in the road

805 always hid the overwhelming view until one was very near it. In the foreground, deep below, one saw the gorge in which the little river Pleistus rushed to the sea at Cirrha, – further north, at the increasingly longer, increasingly steeply rising foot of the mountain, the simple dwellings of the Delphians, – in the middle of the city the world-famous sanctuary, with its dependencies (treasuries, monuments, etc.)

810 forming a kind of fortress, – and, finally, embracing the whole as in a proud frame, the Castalia gorge, pressed in between terribly steeply rising rock walls, which sends its foaming waves to the Pleistus. The modern tourist, who has arrived here and witnessed the many changes to which the weather is subject here, can form an idea (albeit only a faint one) of the sensations that the pilgrims of antiquity

815 experienced here.

A little less than twenty years ago, on the spot where Delphi once stood, one found the village of Castri. The French scholars, who at that time wanted to do excavations on a large scale, were forced to buy all the huts that made up the tiny village. And that was not enough: new houses had to be built for the inhabitants first, a good

820 distance further on. Only after this complete removal could the French diggers begin their work, – a work that has only recently been completed, and which has been crowned by the completion of a simple museum.

I flatter myself with the hope that many a reader who has never set foot on Delphi's sacred soil will be pleased to know that to follow in thought through the scene of

825 the French discoveries, the full weight of which we shall not gauge until the inscriptions and many other details have been made known to the world.

I now ask you to follow me on my way from the East, as do the pilgrims coming from Boeotia. At the crossroads where, according to tradition, Edipus killed his father, things are still not right, according to the people, who believe in the ghosts of a

830 robber captain killed there. At a pretty village, called Arachowa, we descend into the valley of the Pleistus. Rock tombs and sarcophagi (or rather remains of them) betray to us that we are passing the last resting place of many an ancient Delphian. Another minute or so, and we will have the terraces of what once was Delphi in sight.

835 First we must pass through the Marmaria, which is a wild field of fragments, where once a kind of suburb seems to have stood, and where an ancient boundary stone announces to us in the Delphic dialect that we are in the quarter of Athene Ergane, i.e. the goddess, in her quality of protector of weaving and similar handicrafts. It is indeed remarkable that the above-mentioned village of Arachowa still flourishes through an industry of a similar nature, namely the manufacture of coarse carpets,

840 horse-cloths, etc., crude fabrics with garish colours and gaudy motley, but nevertheless not entirely unworthy of Athene Ergane.

If we now return to the Marmaria, our attention is soon attracted by not unimportant remains of a subsidiary temple, dedicated to Athene, namely, according to Pausanias, Athene Pronaa (i.e. the Pre-temple-Athens). The relation of this to the actual temple

845 standing nearby is uncertain; but it is certain that this last (a round building) must have been a work of the first rank. One can form a fairly good idea of this from the blocks of stone that lie on the spot, and from the upright parts that can be seen in the above-mentioned Museum. From the attentive consideration of all this it appears that this temple could compete in grandeur and symmetry with the best

850 buildings of the fifth century BC. However, from the connection of Doric outer and Corinthian inner columns I gather that the whole is of a somewhat later date. The round wall (if I may call the main part so) is of light-coloured marble and rests on a solid floor of a black stone, which projects tastefully outwards.

The Marmaria leads us to a somewhat lower "gymnasion", of which enough has been

855 preserved to give us an idea of the furnishings. We find there unmistakable remains of courtyards with annexed rooms, of a swimming place and showers, once fed by the crystal clear Castalia, and, to crown all this, a long portico. Young people, gathered from far and wide, will have trained themselves here many times, to participate with profit in the Pythian games.

860 A newly constructed road leads us to the Castalia, where there is an opportunity to take a drink from the world-famous water. A glance into the deep rock pool betrays in niches etc. the traces of ancient tributes to the fountain nymph, to which we do not pay much attention, however, because we burn with desire to approach Pytho's ancient sanctuary.

865 It does not take long before we are there. A spacious, gracefully paved forecourt immediately attracts our attention. There the processions must have been arranged

before entering the sanctuary, with the "laurel bearer" at the head, who represented Phoebus Apollo.

870 We cross the spot where the main gate must once have stood; and we enter "the Holy Way", still clearly recognizable by numerous broad paving stones.

1) According to Otto Schroeder, in the Preuszische Jahrbücher of September 1905

875 On both sides of this broad highway the pedestals of disappeared statues crowd together. "Crowding" is the true word here: they often block each other's view, now standing in long rows, then again forming a separate group in a semicircle. Finally the statues stop; and now a number of remains of buildings begin, which are known under the name of "treasuries", but are actually very mysterious. By far the most striking of these largely disappeared buildings is that which is (perhaps wrongly) called "the Cnidian House". Of this, two caryatides, a large part of the front facade and the entire foundations have been preserved. This building is of such importance
880 that a detailed description is justified here, for which in the Museum many a piece of half-raised sculpture and a plaster model of probably the entire decoration of the front facade enable us to do quite well.

885 One must read the relevant statements carefully in order to be able to get the right understanding. After all, the separate fragments had often become widely separated in the course of the centuries, and were then discovered in very heterogeneous company. The most interesting part is formed by the friezes, a marble sculpture that is well worth a closer look. Let us begin with the part that was first visible from the large access road, and which now rests in the Museum. It is the eastern frieze, representing the battle of Greek heroes for the body of Euphorbus: gods and goddesses
890 sitting on chairs, are spectators. The names of those present (including the gods) were once noted in colour print next to each; but, although they seem to have been quite clearly visible during the excavation a few years ago, one must assume that they have become unrecognisable through neglect. Today we read names in many places, later added in pencil; but these apparently do not deserve unqualified confidence
895 everywhere. The northern frieze once formed a magnificent ornament of the front facade. It represents an enormous battle, which once took place between giants and gods. On a blue background a magnificent, half-raised, in many places red or yellow coloured statue shows the Giants, in the form of warriors, armed with helmet and armour. The gods fighting against them are, in order, AEolus, Dionysus (in a panther skin and on a team of lions), Heracles, Hermes, Athena, and (walking next to each
900 other) the twins Apollo and Artemis. All these figures are represented with a liveliness of movement, which leaves nothing to be desired.

The southern frieze crowned the backside centuries ago. It represents an episode from a subject that was also much later favoured in the visual arts, the tradition of the
905 persecution of Castor and Pollux by Idas and Lynceus, all four on horseback. The western frieze finally is badly damaged. On the right and left one sees a goddess, drawn by a winged team. One of these goddesses will probably represent Athena, behind whose chariot Hermes appears. Between the two vehicles a figure with a thick stick appears, perhaps Heracles.

910 Now still over the gable field. This adorns with the representation of a myth, the exact origin of which is unknown, but which seems to be connected with the great Dorian emigration and with disagreements between Apollo and Heracles. The latter is represented here with a tripod hanging over his shoulder, which Apollo tries to wrest from him with both hands. Between the two stands Athena, who, although her head has
915 been lost, was apparently depicted as a giantess. Her left hand is also missing; but the attitude she assumes towards Apollo leaves no doubt as to the intention that she acts as a peacemaker. Less clear is the artist's intention with a fourth figure, who seems to represent Artemis. This character stands behind Apollo, whom she seems to want to stop.

920 All the above details apply to the main of the three preserved buildings, which are known as "treasuries". The first (the so-called Cnidian House) seems to have been built not long before the year 500 BC, the second (called the Sicyonian House) is probably of an earlier date. Presumably some pieces of relief sculpture found here come from an even older building with the same purpose; at least those pieces betray
925 a not yet very developed technique by their exaggerated detail. One of them represents Castor, Pollux and Idas, while they are going to fetch cattle that were stolen in common.

The largest and youngest of the three preserved treasuries is known as the Athenian House. The word "youngest" is however to be understood very relative here; for the
930 building is in any case older than the battle of Marathon. The anatomical precision, as it were, with which the French excavators have gone to work here, has revealed that the foundations come from an even older building. The Athenian House has its remarkable location above the Cnidian and Sicyonian, which I have discussed above. It

935 is located at the impressive point where the Sacred Road suddenly bends northwards, to wind in a zigzag up the mountain; and the striking scene is made even more striking by the fact that the building is situated on a terrace that rises above the level of the road.

Of the many buildings and sculptures that this "treasure chamber" once yielded, the French gentlemen have managed to collect so much that a reconstruction is worth 940 considering. The walls have already been rebuilt up to half their height, with newly inserted plaster pieces.

In front of it rise two Doric columns, which, in a similar manner to the two caryatids in the Cnidian House, support the roof of the front part, where a portal is added here, resting on two pillars. Quite a lot of the sculptural decorations have 945 been preserved and can be found in the Museum. These include a riding Amazon, from the ridge, and a large part of the front decorations, representing the heroic feats of Heracles and Theseus (e.g. the Nemean lion, the Minotaur, etc.). The artistic value of this relief work is nevertheless not particularly great. Close to the building, on the south side, we find a pedestal, which bears the inscription:

950 "Athenians to Apollo, as Median booty from the battle at Marathon". It seems, however, that this is not the original inscription, but a renewal from the time shortly after Alexander the Great. The booty souvenirs, which used to lie on the pedestal, or were attached to it, have disappeared without a trace. Moreover, neither booty nor pedestal has anything to do with the so-called treasury. Among the ruins of 955 the latter building a few stones have also come to light, which are very important for the history of ancient music, namely two smooth, flat stones, on which are little songs with accompanying music. Now these hymn notes, the decipherment of which is hardly open to doubt, cannot lay claim to a melodiousness which would make them popular at modern concerts; but for music as a science, and for the knowledge of 960 ancient Greek worship, these finds are certainly of the highest importance. In other places, in Delphi, a few other songs, but without the notes, have been dug up. One of them is by Philodamus, the Scarphian, and is dedicated to Bacchus. It has suffered much through time; but with patience and a little ingenuity one can get something like this out of it:

965 "In honor of Bacchus,
Whom Semele bore,
And Zeus had for a son!
When he was born,
Then the gods danced,
970 And here they rejoiced."

We continue, past the so-called Sibyl rock, behind which a fallen Sphinx has been found, namely the votive offering of the Naxians, which once rested on a high column. Having passed over a circular dancing place (orchestra), we reach another foundation of the Athenians, namely the ruins of a simple memorial building of theirs, which 975 seems to be of very ancient date. The very ancient inscription reads: "Athenians have dedicated this building and the weapons and the ..., which they had captured from the enemies, [to Apollo]." Which enemies are meant is unknown. It seems that it cannot be the Persians, but older ones. On the preserved narrow, widely spaced columns a wooden roof seems to have rested. On one side this small building does not stand alone, but 980 leans against a wall, which surrounds the temple terraces, and on which decrees for the freeing of slaves were once announced.

At a corner of this wall a steep path leads to the temple height. On the right one found the substructure of the serpent column, which was the bearer of the golden tripod, the magnificent victory symbol of Plataea. Some visitors will remember this 985 column from Constantinople, where it served as a turning post in the racecourse. On the column, as it now adorns the Turkish capital, one can still read the names of the principal Greek cities that defeated the Persians at Plataea. From ?tus and Thucydides we know that on the long-vanished gem on the top of the column there was originally a brazen inscription by Pausanias, "the Greek general". A very short 990 distance further up, and we stand, next to the altar of the citizens of Chios, right in front of the once world-famous temple. Anyone who, following in the footsteps of that other Pausanias, might imagine that he would see the old Alcmaeonides sanctuary revived, — would not be a little disappointed. There is absolutely no question of an impressive whole. The foundations of the walls and a fairly large number of widely 995 scattered small column fragments, — that is all. A kind of consolation can be drawn, however, from the fact that these insignificant remains do not even originate from the real, old temple, but from the Roman imperial period.

The oldest temple building at Delphi dates from the sixth century BC. It was the work of Attic exiles, who had committed themselves to providing a sandstone facade; but, 1000 in order to win Apollo's special favor, they gave one of marble. That temple formed a grand whole, especially when the following century had added so many votive offerings to it. When that temple had fallen to pieces, a new one was built in the fourth

century: that was the temple in which Pausanias found the facade statues he described (Apollo with mother and sister, the Muses, etc.). That temple too was later replaced by another; and what was subjected to the French excavations initially promised very little.

At a time, that was not so bad. More and more important finds came to light. People were particularly rightly taken with a series of (although fragmentary) finely polychrome marble figures, which together seem to have belonged to the façade of the oldest temple: a deer and a bull, both seized by a lion, horses before two-horse chariots, each with a charioteer, finally some standing women, replicas of some votive figures on the Athenian acropolis.

The leader of the French excavations, Mr. Homolle, has, after long and careful research, come to the conclusion that the aforementioned sculpture most probably once filled the largest part of the eastern façade in the Alcmaeonides temple, and that the missing central piece will have consisted of a representation of the same tripod robbery, which also (as I have already discussed) adorns the so-called Cnidian House. Other important excavations betray the same technique, but are made of tuff. They represent: Athena in lively motion, a fallen Giant, fragments of vehicles, and a part of a beast of prey (belonging to a corner of a gable field). From these data, it seems, a battle of the Giants must be deduced, in which Athena and perhaps Dionysus on the other side take part, while Zeus sits in the middle. That, however, is partly very uncertain; but it is almost certain that the tuff and marble fragments referred to here belonged to the statues of the oldest of the three temples.

As for the widely renowned earth-navel or world-navel, which in antiquity was often, and sometimes still in our days, regarded as a symbolic, domed tomb of the dragon Python, – that so-called Navel will in any case have been a kind of fetish, like for example the "Eros-stone" in Thespiae. In the eastern part of the Delphic temple a strange, more or less acorn-shaped object (wrapped with wool) has recently been excavated, which may not be the sacred object itself, but may be a later imitation. The north side of the temple seems to have suffered greatly from earthquakes or other natural disasters; so that much that is now to be found outside the sanctuary originally stood inside. As an example of this I draw attention to a couple of historically important pedestals, which once supported tripods. The inscriptions come from two famous Syracusan brothers. The first has been completely preserved, and reads as follows:

»Gelo, son of Deinomenes, from Syracuse dedicated this to Apollo. The tripod and the goddess of victory were made by Bion, son of Diodorus, from Miletus». Of the second pedestal one can still read: "Hiero, son of Deinomenes, has dedicated ..." All the rest has become illegible over time.

Most probably this refers to an epigram attributed to Simonides, which mentions four such votive offerings (also from the two other brothers). In fact, remains of a third have been found near the two pedestals mentioned. The epigram in question, freely translated, reads as follows:

"Gelo, Hiero, his brother,
Polyzelus, Thrasybulus,
Sons of Deinomenes,
Each dedicated his own tripod
To the temple of Apollo,
In memory of the victory,
Which they with their brave hosts
Over Carthage's power achieved,
Which our people wanted to oppress.
Hellas breathed freely again." 1)

Not far from these Syracusan memorials, a narrow column has been found, which in the museum (most likely rightly) has acquired the hall of the Hellenistic centuries as a residence. This small hall is telescope-shaped and divided into five sections separated by Acanthus foliage. On the top of these Acanthus rings rise three pretty statues, representing dancers. A tripod seems to have been attached to it as the crown of the monument.

Of the many things that have come to light here, I will discuss very little in this short overview. In the first place I mention an excellent marble statue of the beautiful Antinous, of which, incidentally, the only thing to say here is that it has been excellently preserved. I cannot be so brief about the second statue that I still wish to discuss, if only because of the much writing that has been provoked by it. I have in mind here the remains of the nine marble statues of the so-called Thessalian votive offering. Among these was a statue in the Museum, representing a beautifully executed athletic man, and bearing an inscription, a duplicate of which has been found in or near Pharsalus, where it is to be read on a statue that was evidently the model of the Delphic one: only it is not of marble, but of metal. Strange is an

- apparently insignificant difference in the weather silken inscriptions, of which the Pharsalian gives "five Nemean, three Pythian, five Isthmian victories", while the Delphic differs from them in so far that "five Pythian" can be read on it. Another point of difference is that the former mentions the name of the artist (the famous Lysippus), and the Delphic is silent about it. Apparently the Delphic inscription is an improvement on the other, as regards the above-mentioned number "three". On the Delphic statue one reads, moreover, that it was sent by "Daochus, Thessalian Tetrarch, delegate of the Amphictyones", probably shortly before the reign of Alexander the Great.
- In the best of times, many statues of bronze or copper stood on either side of the "Holy Way", which later aroused the greed of Roman and other temple robbers, and therefore (or for other reasons) disappeared. Only one exception to this rule has been traced so far, namely the magnificent statue known as "The Charioteer", which probably owes its preservation only to the fact that it was buried under a thick layer of rubble. What a pity that the accompanying quadriga has disappeared, with the exception of a few broken pieces and the stone pedestal of the horses! The inscription has been so badly damaged that the guess that the votive offering is considered a second monument of the Himera victory is quite daring.
- Let us now consider this masterpiece of bronze work a little more closely! High above the racing chariot, the impressive figure of the proud, muscular charioteer looks out at us. He wears a kind of tabard, which protects him from the hurling of the rushing horses, and prevents a possible obstructive play of the wind by girdling the upper body. This girdling particularly beautifully highlights the athletic shoulders, connected by a no less muscular neck to a head from which not only physical strength, but also high development of the mind gazes at the admiring spectator. A silver headband wreathes the temples. Both feet are slightly forward, especially the right one, – from which some scholars infer that there may have been another figure on the currus. A goddess of Victory perhaps? or the great Syracusan Gelo? Such suppositions are very daring; but what is in any case indisputable is the high artistic value of this extremely beautiful work. I think I cannot conclude this very brief survey of the French activities in and around Delphi (more methodical than those on the island of Delos) better than by expressing my homage to Mr. Homolle and his faithful phalanx. What a pity that our similar work in the vicinity of Olympia has turned out so much less successful! Not only have at least four masterpieces of sculpture been disinterred from the earth's surface; but now at least a general picture has emerged of that world-famous terrain. Truly, those ten years have been well spent. May the French enterprise find its most beautiful laurel in the unfeigned homage of the entire learned world!
- 1) The name of Carthage is not mentioned in the original. The victory referred to here is the victory won by Syracusans and other Greeks over the Punics in the year 480 (near the river Himera in the north of Sicily). (Trans.)
- 5 November 1906 The excavation of ancient Delphi.
- The most famous place of worship in ancient Greece, to which people went from all parts of the Greek world to ask advice from the priestess inspired by Apollo, was Delphi. The Pythians in Delphi were also distinguished by their wit in their divination. When Croesus crosses the Halys, a great empire will be destroyed. Whether this was his own empire or that of the king of Persia, Cyrus, Croesus himself could decide. In any case, the oracle had predicted it. Nevertheless, that ancient place was venerated for centuries, and the priests of the Phytian Apollo were known far beyond the borders of Greece.
- The temple buildings in Delphi were particularly beautiful. No fewer than six temples stood together. Many of these buildings have been preserved to us, and the French have brought the entire temple surface to light again.
- The wealth of the Pythian priests, who were well paid for their oracles, was proverbial. Of the temples, only the foundations of one, the oldest, remain. Of the second, which dates from the sixth century before Christ, one can form a better idea. A magnificent building was the fourth temple, which had the shape of a circus. The roof of that temple is supported by twenty columns in the richest Doric style. The temple was richly decorated, but nothing of the rich sculpture has remained intact.
- The fifth temple must also have made a magnificent impression. It was built of blue marble. From the surviving pieces one can best make out the plan of the temple. The archaeologists suspect that it was the Athena temple mentioned by Paussanias. The construction shows a harmonious mixture of Doric and Ionic styles.
- 8 December 1912 The goddess of Victory.
- A few weeks ago, on the day of the declaration of war by Greece, a perfect statue was found at Delphi on the site "Marmaria" (so called because of the large amount of

1140 marble found there). People thought they recognized the goddess of victory Nike in it and blessed the find at that very moment. How great was the disillusionment when the French archaeologist Dr. Courby, who is continuing the excavations that were started at the time by the French Archaeological Institute at Delphi, called the statue a facade figure, with which houses and temples used to be decorated. The characteristic wings are missing from the statue. Yet some magazines maintain that even if the statue does not represent Nike herself, it is her daughter, the goddess of fame.

1145 1 July 1920 DELPHI, MONUMENTS OF THE THESSALIAN PRINCES [p. 291]
It is impossible to prescribe the limits of development for a genius like Lysippus, of whose 1,500 famous bronze statues only a fraction is preserved to-day, not in the originals, but in more or less successful marble copies. That, in spite of all divergences, there are common features connecting the Agias and the Apoxyomenos, has rightly been emphasized by good judges in recent times. 1) The artistic career of Lysippus begins for our inquiries with the year 372 BC, when he executed the statue of a man who had won the chariot-race at Olympia "both with full-grown horses and with colts." The base of the statue was found in the German excavations, and shows characters of writing agreeing well with this date. 2) The monument of Daochus, as shown above, was erected soon after 340 BC; but the original Agias statue at Pharsalus is older, and may well have been produced some years before, in the beginning or middle of the forties.

1160 There is no reason to date it still earlier, for we must start with the assumption that Lysippus was not taken up by the Thessalian nobles, but that they only placed orders with him when his fame was assured and his style well known.
Pliny gives a far later date, 328 BC, as the culminating point of his art, probably the time when he executed his most famous portrait, that of Alexander. Just after 320 BC, Lysippus is active, and executes a great bronze group at Delphi, the lion-hunt of Alexander and Craterus, which was ordered by Craterus, son-in-law of the Macedonian Viceroy Antipater and one of Alexander's old companions in arms, in memory of the fact that during the Asiatic expedition in a hunt he fell a lion which threatened the life of the great king. In gratitude for the escape of both, the group was dedicated to Apollo at Delphi; but as Craterus died in 321 BC, it was his newly-born son who erected the group in his father's name, exactly as was the case with Hieron's group, erected at Olympia by his son, Deinomenes.

1170 Pliny names this among the most famous works of Lysippus; Plutarch says it had two authors, Lysippus and Leochares. 3) The base of the group has been discovered at Delphi in a chamber to right of the staircase, which north of the temple leads up to the theater (fig. 150), and the metrical inscription reports that the group was vowed by Craterus, friend of the great Alexander, but only his son performed the vow and dedicated it in memory of the fight with the lion which his father courageously carried through when he followed King Alexander on his Asiatic expedition; he laid the lion low on the borders of the Nomad Syrians.

1180 In consideration of the son's tender age, it was assumed that the group was erected long after 320, about 300 BC, but against that are the other dates of the two artists engaged, and there is nothing to prevent us from thinking of the group as erected in the name of the infant son. 1) Anyhow, it is a long life for an artist, of whose outlines we thus catch glimpses, and the Apoxyomenos probably belongs only to its latest period, the twenties of the fourth century.

1185 In any case Lysippus, at the time when he executed the Agias, was strongly influenced by the art of Scopas, and only in advanced years seems to have experienced the artistic transformation of which the Apoxyomenos bears witness. This is the importance of the Delphic find, that it reveals to us how late this master "found his nature" as Aristotle would say. 1) In this respect he reminds us of a modern sculptor like Meunier, who only at the age of fifty-five became the Meunier the world knows and admires. Homolle conjectures that other figures from the Daochus monument are copies of Lysippus' originals, and the latest found Agelaus figure (fig. 133) might point to that so long as most of the figures are headless, all appreciation of them is out of the question, for at this stage of his development Lysippus, like Scopas, showed more individuality in characterizing heads than bodies. Twenty years later, on the threshold of old age, he is a different man. A torso, contemporary with and stylistically akin to the Apoxyomenos, we should recognize without difficulty as his work. 2)

1200 1 Amelung, in Helbig's Führer, 3rd ed., n. 23; Studniczka, Das Bildnis Menanders, Leipzig, 1918, 20. 2 Pausanias, vi. 1.4.; Loewy, Inscriptions griech. Bildhauer, 76. 3 Pliny, Nat. Hist., xxxiv. 64; Plutarch, Alexander, 40. 1 Perdrizet, Bull. the con. hell., xxii, 1898, 566. 1

Lysippus was also the author of the bronze group of the Sun-god on his car founded by

- the Rhodians, the base inscription of which Pomtow thought he had found in Delphi; Dittenberger, Sylloge, 441; Pliny, Nat. Hist., xxxiv. 63.
- 1205 This is, however, incorrect; the lettering is characteristic of the end of the third century, so a century later than Lysippus; Bourguet, Bull. the correct hell., xxxiv, 191 1, 458, and Revue arch., 1918, i. 220. 2 In my description of the Thessalians I have omitted to use the judgment Theopompus passed on them {Athenaeus, xii. 527a):
- 1210 "They play away their time with dancing women and flute-players, others spend whole days in dice-playing, drinking, or other excesses, and they take more care about filling their board with all manner of meats than in leading an honorable life. But the Pharsalians are the laziest and the most pitiful of them all." Further, he describes how one can win the friendship of the Thessalians by drinking matches with them and by joining in their debaucheries (op. cit., vi. 260b). But Theopompus passes
- 1215 similar judgments on the Etruscans, the people of Methymna and other Greek towns, and on Philip of Macedon (Athenaeus, xii. 507, d, e; x. 442/ -44, a; iv. i66/-i67e) ; so he seems to have been a specialist in chronicles scandaleuses.
<https://archive.org/details/delphipoulsen00poul>
- 1 April 1921 From the School of the Spade. XXII.
- 1220 [...] At that time, women's bodies were painted white, as men's were painted brown-red. Perhaps Artemis stood next to Apollo, as Hermes in Heracles. So it was represented in life-size, brightly colored as an impressionistic painting – the bare parts of the male body bright brick red, those of the female chalk white, the clothes with colorful borders – how Heracles as one would have guessed from a
- 1225 comparison with several Greek vases may suggest that he is defending his prey, a sacred hind, with a raised club, against the god of Delphi, who is striding towards him resolutely, perhaps with the gruesome bow in his left hand. Spectators are Hermes, often the leader of a daring man, and Artemis, who in courage was not inferior to her brother.
- 1230 It seems that this entire group was a votive offering, which was placed either before or in the temple by a worshipper of the god. That the original location was outside, one would be inclined to conclude from the fact that in the pointed cap of Mercury there are small holes, which could have supported a "meniscos". A meniscos, one should know, is a metal plate, which the
- 1235 Greeks often placed above the heads of their statues to prevent – forgive the unsubtle detail – birds from defiling them. But the evidence is not conclusive; a temple has openings along the roof; so sometimes birds come in and you understand me....
- Where the group stood, is just as impossible to determine as what the donor thought
- 1240 about it. The myth is known to us only from vases and reliefs. [...]
- 12 September 1921 [...] Prof. Vollgraff also made a statement "On the Delphic hymn to Dionysus"
- The hymn in honor of Dionysus must be considered one of the most important finds which the French excavations at Delphi brought to light. The hymn was inscribed on a
- 1245 large slab of limestone, and consisted of twelve lyrical stanzas, eight of which have been partially preserved. It was composed by Philodamus of Skarpheia, in the spring of the year 335 BC. In the first part the poet relates in his own way the usual legend of the birth of Dionysus and his travels and wanderings on earth. In the
- 1250 second part he mentions various feasts and sacrifices, which are part of the worship of Dionysus at Delphi or are connected with it. Two things strike us especially: the poet consciously places himself on the standpoint of the mystical teachings of the Orphics, and he announces an important extension of the cult of Bacchus. Thus, even at the Pythian festivals, formerly dedicated exclusively to Apollo, Dionysus will henceforth be honored with sacrifices and choral dances, and an image of him,
- 1255 resplendent as the sun, will be set up, standing on a chariot drawn by golden lions. This corresponds to the representation of Dionysus as a sun god, which is found in Macedonia and Thrace, and in the Orphic religion. The most remarkable passage in the hymn is that in which King Alexander the Great himself, under the name of son of Dionysus, is designated as the one who gives that increased splendor to the cult of
- 1260 Bacchus.
- We know Alexander as an independent ruler and a socially ordering prince, and as a deeply religious nature. The Delphic hymn teaches us that he was a worshipper of Dionysus, the national god of his people, and a confessor of the Orphic doctrine, which also belonged above all in Macedonia and Thrace. The Orphics taught concerning
- 1265 God that he is one. They did not have the rigid monotheism of the Semites, who said that there is one God, and that all other gods are idols. Their henotheism was such that they recognized and respected the gods who enjoyed worship from men, but regarded them all as expressions of the same divine spirit. And should not the policy in religious matters, which Alexander and his successors followed in the East, be

1270 regarded as inspired by their own religious views? That policy can be indicated by the one word "syncretism"; that is to say, they have made it their business to equate every foreign deity with a Greek god or goddess, and to merge them with it in worship. Hellenistic syncretism is thus the result of the much older Orphic theokrasie.

1275 22 December 1923 [...] In 340 before Christ, the chief architect of the temple area of Delphi received an unheard-of amount, four drachmas a day. This almost unbelievably high payment for a state official coincided with a period of important construction. Then the priests seem to have understood how important such a post was. Even greedy Delos gives its architect three drachmas a day instead of two in such cases! Yet Delphi lagged far behind. Delphi calculated with Aeginetic currency, which was one and a half times higher than the Attic, so that the four drachmas from there would have been worth six on Delos. After 300 BC, a rapid and continuous decline in wages can be observed on Delos. A typical example, which touches on the material itself from which we draw all these data, is that of the stonemason who made the temple inscriptions. For a very long time this certainly not very stupid workman stipulated and received one drachma per hundred letters. That price was still paid in 1280 302 to a certain Hermodikos, but later on he was increasingly cut back. In the same year 302 the same Hermodikos had to deliver 130 letters, five years later even 300! Around 250 we reach the lowest wage level. Then the temple lords pay for an inscription - of 354 lines with 42,000 letters the sum of 120 drachmas, that is to say one drachma for every 350 letters. But now the bow was apparently too tense. The inscriptions were so shamefully rushed that the principals began to feel ashamed of it. They apparently thought of their good name with posterity and therefore, probably with a bleeding heart, took the brave decision to return to the previous payment. 1290 [...]

1 January 1924 DELPHI

BY DR. J. W. VAN ROOIJEN.

If one wants to reach Delphi from Athens by land, this is not the easiest way. By train one can only travel to Brailo, a station on the railway to Saloniki. From there a bus, a grand name for a lorry, in which some benches have been installed, goes to Amphissa. However, if you are lucky, like us, that the bus does not even wait for the express train from Athens, then good advice is expensive. The nearest village (I have forgotten the name) is a few hours away. However, the helpful station master knew what to do. We were able to hire a couple of mules and so, packed and ready, we set off. In the village in question, it was said, a car could be obtained. 1300 When we arrived there, it turned out that the car had to come from Amphissa. It did not appear until the evening. We have seldom experienced more anxious moments than during that car journey. Just imagine being driven at breakneck speed up a mountain as high as Parnassus in a car driven by the most reckless driver in the world, who takes the corners so sharply that at any moment you think you are going to plunge car and all into the abyss that is always staring at you on the right side of the road, while you sometimes whizz past wagons going uphill at the speed of an express train, then you will understand that we were glad to have finally arrived in Amphissa. We have no pleasant memories of this last place; the Xenodokeion (hotel), which was 1315 the best in the town, did not even meet the most moderate requirements of cleanliness; we were therefore very glad when we were able to leave this inhospitable place as early as possible. From Amphissa to Delphi, however, there is still quite a climb; wagons are not to be had, so that, forced by necessity, we had to resort again to our driver of the previous evening, who brought us up without accident. 1320 Delphi, in ancient times also called Pytho, lies between high rocks on a terrain that slopes gently upwards. There, where the rock plateau joins the mountain, rise the so-called Phaedriades, the brilliant rocks, so called because the sunlight radiates brilliantly from the naked limestone. The two rocks form an obtuse angle and are separated from each other only by a narrow abyss. From the eastern rock rises the spring Kastalia, whose water flows along the rocks to Pieistos, a quarter of an hour away. 1325

The Delphic oracle was very old. According to a Delphic legend, the vapours that rose from a gorge and brought the Pythia into a kind of ecstasy were discovered by a goatherd. He had namely noticed that his goats, when they came to the chasm in question, made strange leaps and uttered unusual sounds; when he himself now approached the chasm, he fell into a kind of ecstasy and began to prophesy. Before Apollo founded his oracle here, Gaia, the Earth, was the first possessor of the oracle; her daughter Themis followed her; the pronouncements of the oracle were called themistes (laws). Themis voluntarily gave the place to Phoebe, who gave the 1330 oracle to her grandson Phoibos Apollo. He went from Delos, the island on which he was

born, under the guidance of the Athenians, who boasted of having been the first to pave the sacred road to Delphi, where the people and King Delphos received him with joy.

- 1340 According to another legend, Apollo did not acquire the oracle in such a peaceful manner. Shortly after his birth, Apollo is said to have set out to seek an oracle. The valley of Delphi pleased him and he decided to establish an oracle here. However, the snake Python, who lived here at the spring Delphusa, prevented him from entering. The young god fought the snake and killed it with his arrows.
- 1345 There, for the first time, the paeon, the joyful song of victory, resounded from the mouth of the god and the choir of the young Delphic women; as a reminder of this victory, the Pythian games were established forever. As penance for the death of the Python, Apollo had to flee and perform 8 years of slave service. He went to King Admetus in Thessaly and was purified in the valley of Tempe, in order to return to
- 1350 Delphi as Phoibos, the bright, shining one. This penance and purification was symbolically represented at the festivals, which returned every 8 years; a boy, who was supposed to represent Apollo, set fire to a hut, the hut of Python, in front of the temple: then he fled quickly; accompanied by a procession he passed through Locris, Doris, over the Oeta, to Tempe, and here, like
- 1355 Apollo before him, he was purified. According to the legend, Apollo appointed Cretans as priests, whom he had brought here over the sea. When the leader of these men looked at the bare rocky plain and asked the god what they would live on here, the god replied: "Every one must hold the sacrificial knife ready in his right hand and continually slaughter sacrificial animals, which the people will bring me in
- 1360 immeasurable numbers." And so it happened. From all sides the people came to ask the god for advice and had their sacrificial animals slaughtered; at the same time valuable gifts were offered to the god, so that the temple came to possess a great wealth of precious metals and works of art. Homer (Iliad, 9th book) already speaks of "the great wealth that the stone threshold of
- 1365 Pytho encloses within". Not only Greeks consulted the oracle, but also foreign peoples. Do we not read in "tus" that the king of Lydia, Croesus, had the oracle consulted when he wanted to march against Cyrus, the king in Persia? A league of so-called Amphictyones, consisting of peoples from Central and Northern Greece, had united to protect the sanctuary and to celebrate the festivals at common
- 1370 expense. The Dorians in particular, when they lived near Parnassus and Oeta, had established close connections with the oracle and also after they had settled in the Peloponnesus, they had maintained these relations. In the centuries between Lycurgus and the Persian wars, Delphi became both the
- 1375 religious and political centre of Greece. Nothing of importance was taken up by individuals and states without first seeking the advice of the Delphic god. At the beginning of the Persian wars the oracle was uncertain and gave doubtful answers. After the battle of Salamis (480 BC) was the first to take up the national cause of Greece. The fact that the temple had been spared by the Persians (probably because of their worship of the god of light) raised the prestige of the oracle
- 1380 again. Trophies from the Persians, were established in Delphi and the Amphictyones issued decrees in honor of those who had remained loyal to the fatherland. Gradually, however, a reaction set in. In the so-called holy wars the power of the oracle diminished; at one time the Phoenicians even seized the incalculable treasures of the temples and paid for the war they waged from them. It is true that the oracle
- 1385 still enjoyed some prestige in the time of Emperor Hadrian (117-138 AD), but only in private matters. When Emperor Julian the Apostate had the oracle questioned before his journey to Persia in 362, he received the answer: "Tell the king that the artfully made dwelling is covered with dust, Phoibos has no more shelter and no prophetic laurel, or a babbling spring; the beautiful water has ceased to flow".
- 1390 Finally, in 390, the oracle was closed forever by Emperor Theodosius. The actual sacred space, formerly enclosed by walls, was about 130 m wide and 180 m long. The main entrance was located in the SE and here the sacred road led, with two bends, to the temple of Apollo. Along this entire road stood statues and votive offerings in great numbers. Emperor Nero had about 500 statues removed and yet the
- 1395 number of those that remained was estimated at 3000. The number of statues at the entrance was exceptionally large. On the right side was the statue of a bull, consecrated in 500 BC by the Kerkyraeans, opposite which rose the monument that the Athenians had built in memory of the battle of Marathon. To the west of this rose the wooden horse of the Argives, consecrated in 414 BC. This
- 1400 was followed by a triumphal monument of the Arcadians, which they had erected there to commemorate their liberation from Sparta. On the left followed the Seven against Thebes, with the chariot of Amphiaras, a memorial of the Argives to their victory at Oenoe.
- 1405 If one walked further along the sacred road, one came across more than a dozen treasuries, which had been built by various cities and states of Greece. Among these,

that of the Siphnians, of which we shall speak more fully below, was well preserved; it resembles an Ionic templum in antis, with caryatides instead of columns. The Doric treasury of the Athenians is also well preserved, it has been possible to rebuild it in its entirety.

1410 This was followed by a large building, in which one may see the bouleuterion, while behind it the terrain has been left in its original rocky state. This is probably the rock on which the Sibyl Herophyle first gave her oracles. A high Ionic column, erected by the Naxians, on which stood the well-known Sphinx, towered above the entire area. A little further on one reached the round festival place, the Halos, 1415 (threshing floor), where the already mentioned symbolic representation of the killing of the Python took place.

Immediately behind the column of the Naxians rises the wall of the temple terraces; it was covered with inscriptions, which contained decrees of the Amphictyones, lists of victors and certificates of the release of slaves. Between this wall and the Halos 1420 was the Stoa of the Athenians, with columns, built in the Ionic style; this stoa was probably built in gratitude for the victory in 480 BC won at Salamis; later (428 BC) Phormion added trophies of captured ships. Next to the S.W. corner stood a Nike of Paionios, probably the example of the one found at Olympia. Also on the east side of the temple terrace stood several monuments, among these the Tripod of the Plataeans 1425 is especially worth mentioning; this rested on a base, which has been found. The middle support formed the famous serpent column, at the top was a golden basin, which was stolen in the Holy War. Later the tripod was taken to Constantinople and can still be seen there in the so-called AT-Meidan.

Of the Doric temple of Apollo, which was of course the most important sanctuary, only 1430 the foundations remain; yet we know from the Greek writer Pausanias, how this temple looked in ancient times. The sanctuary was rebuilt or rebuilt several times. The oldest temple was, according to legend, formed from laurel trees; the branches of these descended from the sacred laurel in Tempe. This was followed by a temple built by bees, from wax. Apollo put a copper temple in its place; this however melted in a 1435 fire and sank into the cleft of the earth.

After this a fourth temple, of stone, was built by the master builders Trophonios and Agamedes. After they had finished their work, they asked the god for a reward. He promised them this by the seventh day. When this had come, they died the following night.

1440 This temple however burned down in 548 BC: for a new building money was collected among all the Greeks; even the Egyptian king contributed to this. The family of the Alcmaeonidae, expelled from Athens, undertook the construction for the sum of 300 talents. They built it, however, more expensively than the contract required them to do, but naturally won the favor of the priests of Delphi; the architect was 1445 Spintharus of Corinth.

In front of the temple was the great altar of burnt offering and close to it the statue of a wolf, the animal dedicated to Apollo. On its head the Delphians had the decree engraved, by which the Spartans who had helped them were granted the right of promanteia (to be allowed to consult the oracle for others). Pericles, however, had 1450 the same decree engraved on the back, in favor of the Athenians. Entering the pronaos (forehall), one first saw the golden-lettered sayings: Gnóthi Seauton (Learn to Know Yourself) and: Mēden Agaan (Nothing too much), both sayings of the Seven Sages; by these sayings stood the image of Homer. The cella of the temple was 100 feet long and decorated on the outside with Doric columns, on the inside with Ionic ones. Here was 1455 the statue of Apollo and in front of it the Hestia (hearth) on which the eternal fire was maintained by a widow; this hearth was considered the common one for all and also the center of the entire Greek world. Zeus had once, in order to find out the center of the earth, let two eagles fly towards each other from the East to the West and they had come together at this place.

1460 Near the hestia stood the iron chair of Pindarus, on which the pious singer had praised Apollo with his hymns. For he was accustomed to offer hymns to the god instead of sacrifices. Moreover, in the cella there was a statue of Poseidon, the statues of two Moira (Goddesses of Fates) with those of Zeus Moiragetes and Apollo Moiragates (the leader of fate).

1465 Behind the cella was a room, which was intended as a waiting room for those who wished to consult the oracle. This was followed by the holy of holies, the adyton, where the cleft of the earth was located, from which the well-known vapours arose; there a colossal tripod had been erected, made of wood and covered with gold; above this a seat had been placed.

1470 After the omens had first been observed, the Pythia, after having first drunk water from the spring Kastalia, and taken a laurel leaf in her mouth, went to the adyton and sat down on the tripod; through the vapours that rose from the earth, she fell into a kind of ecstasy and uttered incoherent sounds. These words were then written down in the form of hexameters by so-called prophets; these verses, however, were not

- 1475 easy for the interrogator to understand. Therefore they went to the professional interpreters, to find out from them what the meaning of the oracle was. The large terrace, which extended along the entire south wall of the temple, contained the much-sung laurel and myrtle forest; in the middle of this we also have to look for the old sanctuary of Gaia, who, as we saw, was the first to possess the
- 1480 oracle. To the south-east probably rose the mast with three golden stars, which the Aeginetes, after the battle of Salamis, had dedicated here; furthermore here was the pedestal on which Perseus of Macedonia wanted to place his statue. Aemilius, who had defeated him, had his own placed there. The great altar of the temple was a foundation of the inhabitants of Chios, erected about 520 BC. A little to the north
- 1485 rose an elegant acanthus column, on which dancing girls were depicted. Golden tripods, which Gelo of Syracuse and his brothers, after the victory at Himera, (480 BC) had dedicated, were located here. The well-known bronze charioteer also originally stood here. To the north of these Sicilian votive offerings the Thessalian Daochos had nine
- 1490 statues of himself and his ancestors erected. Opposite the N. West corner of the temple is a room, where Craterus had his famous lion hunt, in which he had saved the life of Alexander the Great, immortalized by Leochares and Lysippus. The theater is located behind this. The space intended for the spectators has remained in a fairly good state, the stage has been destroyed. In
- 1495 the very northern part of the peribolos was the Lesche of the Knidians, a kind of conversation building. On the wall on the right side, according to Pausanias, there was a representation of the destruction of Troy, painted by Polygnotus, on the left wall a picture of the Underworld. Not far from the main entrance is the source Kastalia. The water of this spring
- 1500 springs from the rock face, which has been hewn out into a large, square basin. Below it is a large niche, in which one can now a small chapel of Saint John. In the basin of the Kastalia all who wished to enter the temple had to cleanse themselves by taking a bath. Even today the water of the spring, although it has lost its reputation of holiness, is still held in high esteem. Every afternoon one can still
- 1505 see the mules, hung on both sides with barrels and driven by boys and girls, going to the spring to fetch the delicious, cool water that is so precious in these arid regions. It is a picturesque sight when one sees these groups gathering at the spring, especially towards evening, when the sun is already sinking behind the mountains and
- 1510 from the high Parnassus one sees a splendid panorama before one, which one will not forget for the rest of one's life. How beautiful is this piece of land, which the Greeks had chosen as a dwelling place for their god of light Apollo, who knew how to sweep away the darkness of the future with his light and to whom people came from far and wide to hear the pronouncements of his oracle.
- 1515 We would now like to take a walk through the Museum, which is located near the excavations. The building, which was built through the generosity of Syngros, consists of a main building and two wings. In front of the entrance is a marble sarcophagus, on which the Calydonian hunt is depicted. When we enter the large hall, we see first of all the bronze statue of the
- 1520 Charioteer, fairly well preserved, which was found near the temple. With it were a part of a Horse and an arm. All this belonged to the votive offering that Polyzalos had set up in gratitude for a victory in a race with his chariot. It is supposed that this Polyzalos was the brother of Gelo and Hiero of Syracuse. The charioteer stands before us at his full length; the folds of his garment are not
- 1525 unlike the cannelures of a column; probably a part of these folds, which appear somewhat monotonous, were covered by the body of the chariot. The workmanship of the bronze is very fine; the face with the full chin, the eyes full of expression, the workmanship of the hair, all these things lend the work a high value. The next room is known as that of "The Treasury of the Athenians", on the walls are
- 1530 attached the metopes that were on the outside of the said treasury. They represent the deeds of Hercules and Theseus. Five metopes represent the robbery of the cattle of Geryones; a sixth shows us a Centaur, who has fallen against an opponent (Hercules); he places his foot on his neck. A seventh image shows the fight with the Nemean lion, while an eighth metope represents the capture of the bull.
- 1535 The rest all seem to represent deeds of Theseus, and in particular his fight against the Amazons. In one image we see the young Theseus, provided with a helmet, fighting an Amazon; on the other side the defeat of the Minotaur and the bull of Marathon is represented. In the middle of the hall one sees Amazons on horseback, the acroteria of the top of the sanctuary.
- 1540 On the right wing is the Greco-Roman hall, or the Monument of Pydna. The monument records the defeat of King Perseus of Macedonia (168 BC); on all four sides there are inscriptions and it is decorated with a frieze, in relief. Opposite the Macedonians, who can be recognized by their beautifully decorated shields, one sees barbarians,

1545 who are almost completely naked; they represent the allies of the Roman people; the Romans themselves are not seen, but their cavalry. In front of this monument are placed the Three Dancing Girls (Karyatides); the support on which they are placed is decorated with acanthus leaves; they form a beautiful base for a tripod, or another votive offering. The clothing of these girls and the garlands of palm leaves have identified them as Dancers of Karyae, from which the name Karyatides is derived, who, 1550 as is known, also occur at the Erechtheion in Athens.

We now return to the entrance and reach the hall of the Temple of Apollo; on the right we find a large relief, representing a youth, with outstretched arms; a boy stands next to him. The first figure is usually taken as an image of Apollo; it is perhaps an Apoxyomenos, with a servant.

1555 Fragments of marble statues from the temple of the Alcmaeonides represent lions tearing bulls; one can also see two female figures, who hold her dress with their left hand; on the left wall are depicted scenes from the battle between Athena and the giant Enceladus.

1560 In this room five reliefs were also placed; on the first one one sees the ship Argo; round shields, on the outside, represent the warriors on board; to the side are two people, who play on a lyre, one of these is probably Orpheus. At each end stands a horseman, apparently Castor and Pollux. On a second relief Pollux, Idas and Castor drive the stolen cattle from Arcadia before them; the division of these was the cause of the quarrel between them. Each figure holds two spears in his left hand, a third 1565 spear in his right. The third relief shows us the abduction of Europa on the bull; the story of the Calydonian boar is the subject of the fourth relief; in the image we see the remains of a dog under the wild animal. The last relief is much damaged; it is supposed that it represents the ram on which Phrixus and Helle were seated, when they fled the ambushes of their stepmother Ino.

1570 East of the temple was found a large Omphalos, the stone of which we have already spoken; on it were placed images of woollen bands; probably this was not the original omphalos, as it was covered with real woollen bands.

Between this and the next room stand the statues of two youths from the archaic period. On the pedestal of the best preserved statue an inscription tells us that the 1575 sculptor was an Argive. They look a lot like the well-known Apollo statues, with the round, somewhat smiling face. They probably date from the 7th century BC. It is believed that these statues represent Cleobis and Biton, about whom "between us" tells us in his history. He relates (1,31) that Solon, the Athenian philosopher, once visited Croesus, the king of the Lydians. One day the king, who was known for his 1580 wealth, had Solon led through all his treasuries. Then he asked him who he considered the happiest man in the world. Solon awarded the first prize to a certain Tellus, an Athenian, the second to the young men Cleobis and Biton, from Argos. One day their mother had to be brought to the temple of the goddess Hera, but the oxen were not present in time. Then the young men themselves pulled their mother to the temple, a 1585 distance of 45 stadia (a stadium is ± 182 m). The partygoers praised the mother happy to have such good sons. Then the mother prayed to the goddess to give them that which is happiest for man. After that prayer they lay down to sleep in the temple and did not get up again. By this the goddess had shown that death is happiest for man. The Argives had statues made of them afterwards and consecrated them in Delphi.

1590 We have now approached the last room of the museum, that of the Treasury of the Cnidians, according to Pomtov, the Siphnians. The sculptures of the facade pieces of the completely destroyed building have been found so completely that it could be reconstructed in its entirety. As we have already seen, the building had the form of a templum in antis; instead of the usual columns the roof of the vestibule is 1595 supported by the statues of two girls. They remind us of the priestesses of the Acropolis and are perhaps the forerunners of the Caryatides of the Erechtheion. A frieze runs along the entire building. On the north side it represents the Gigantomachy; first we see a man, in a somewhat bent position, holding an object in his hand that looks like a bag. This is Aeolus, the god of the winds, who sets his 1600 storms in motion against the giants. Then follow two goddesses, who are engaged in battle with giants. The giants are depicted in ordinary human form. In the background we discover Hercules, with the lion's skin wrapped around his neck and arms; he fights with his lance against a giant. Dionysus, with a long robe and a panther's skin, rides into the fray with his chariot, drawn by lions. A little further on are 1605 Apollo and Diana with their bows. Ephialtes lies dead at their feet; another giant is about to take flight, while three others are approaching in close column. Then Hermes appears, he fights with a sword and can be recognized by his conical headdress; the other figures can no longer be identified.

1610 On the other side one sees the remains of the Eastern frieze; this represents the fight between Menelaus and a Trojan hero (perhaps Hector), for the body of Euphorbos, while Meriones assists the former and Aeneas the latter. The names of these persons can be determined from the inscriptions. The left half is occupied by an assembly of

the gods. The second half shows a battle scene.

1615 Also to be mentioned is the image that decorated the Western façade, the mysterious fight for the tripod between Apollo and Hermes; Athena, who is in the middle, seems to separate the combatants; it is said that the Dorians once tried to put their hero Heracles in the place of the Ionian Apollo; in this way the image could be explained. In the same hall is also the already mentioned Column of the Naxiers, on which the Sphinx was placed.

1620 We have now completed our tour; a visit to Delphi will leave an unforgettable impression on everyone.

10 July 1925 From a Travel Diary.

XXIV. Delphi.

From a Travel Diary. XXIV. Delphi.

1625 A mighty, severe god was the prophet Apollo, in dark oracles communicating his wisdom to those of the people who understood him. Realizing this with awe, the Greeks only came closer to him to hear his voice there, where Greek nature unfolds in its greatest majesty, in harmony with the being of the great seer. One of those places is Delos, amidst the deserted beauty of cliffs and sea. Another, even grander and more
1630 impressive, is Delphi, in a gorge of one of the mightiest mountain massifs of Greece, Parnassus. In that environment I now want to try to understand something of the great veneration of the Greeks for Apollo, of his influence on their religious and political life.

1635 But my journey does not go directly to Delphi: Thebes lies on my way, the cradle of many legends, immortalized by Greek tragedy.

It is a beautiful journey, in the early morning, to Thebes. First through the fresh green Attic land, between the Pentelicon and the Parnes. Then bending along the Parnes to the well-cultivated plain of Thebes, with a beautiful view, to the east, where the sea appears between the mountains, while above it the still snow-capped
1640 peaks of Euboeia protrude. In Thebes I do not expect to see any important antiquities; there is a museum in a Fraukian tower with many interesting inscriptions, including the decree in which Nero granted the Greek countries freedom at the Isthmian games in 67 AD. But furthermore, in and around the present city, which occupies the place of the Acropolis of the former, only scarce ruins, one finds barely noticeable traces of
1645 ancient walls. Thebes is more interesting because of the lovely nature of its surroundings, intersected by the brooks Ismenos and Dirke, while in the west the horizon is closed by the grey Muses mountain, the Helikon. To many places in the vicinity, which the modern visitor still tries to determine accurately, the memory of the tremendous dramas of the saga, which must once have taken place here, is bound.
1650 The history of Kadmos' unhappy royal family comes to life for him, the tragedies "The Seven Against Thebes" by Aichylos, "King Oedipus" and "Antigone" by Sophocles, "The Bacchantes" by Euripides appear to him in a new form. Modern Thebes is a small, rather poor town on top of a hill: A straight road, the Epammondasstraat, cuts through it in its entire length. Between the heavy trees on either side of the
1655 houses, under the still fresh green spring foliage, people practice many crafts in the open air. On one of these trees I read on a notice board that the space at its foot is rented for the practice of a craft. The free space is occupied by the chairs for the small cafés.

In the evening, walking through one of the suburbs, I am struck by a fresh and
1660 colorful scene, such as one only finds in small villages. There on the bank of the Dirke is a large fountain, fed by water that, brought over a high viaduct, first runs over a huge wooden water wheel. At more than thirty stone wells stand the women of the village, in their brightly colored clothes, their bare feet in the water, washing their linen. Clear laughter and song sound from their midst. A beautiful village
1665 idyll....

The next day I continue my train journey, between the cotton fields of the drained Lake Kopais, past Livadia and Chaeronea, where on the left against a row of cypresses I discover the eight-meter-high gray stone lion with pedestal, which was erected here by the Thebans after the battle of Chaeronea in 338. In a N.W. direction the train
1670 now follows the high spurs of the mighty Parnassus on our left to Bralo, where I get off. We have now circumnavigated the Parnassus in the N.E., now I drive it further from the N.W. side by car, along the beautiful road through the mountains, which was constructed here by the French during the war. The weather is gloomy. The mountains rise in pitch-black behind the small red-brown plain that we first speed through.
1675 Then it immediately goes up into a ravine between two mountains. We soon have the clouds under us, and above us, around the peaks, up to the winding road, the snow lies on the slopes. Before a snow shower, accompanied by an icy cold wind, we dive deeper into our coats. Finally, we go down the slopes for a long time with the engine turned off, into the valley that is enclosed between Parnassus in the E. and the high
1680 mountains of Doris in the W.

- 1685 In a pouring rain we reach we, after driving 44 km, Amphissa, situated on a green, wooded slope, under a large old castle. In the streets we meet a troop of camels, a relic from the time of the Turks, which maintains the connection with Itea. From here it is still 22 km to Delphi, and because of the pouring rain I am forced to take the car even further. We descend quickly into a fertile plain, occupied by dense olive groves, the old fields of Kirrha and Krisa, – now Chryso – which the Delphic Amphictyony, as its richest possession, has had to defend so often in fierce "holy" wars against its neighbors. Then we go up to the East and the valley of the Pleistos. As we climb, we get a wider view.
- 1690 In the village of Kastri I get out. Five minutes further on the road bends around a rock, provided with tombs from all times. There lies Delphi before me. On a theatre-shaped sloping terrain, enclosed by vertical rock walls, and on the low side by the ravine of the Pleistos, lies the Temenos of Apollo, rising in terraces. Within this space lies the museum and behind it, diagonally above the excavations, the house of the French school. It is already getting dark, so I first go and look for shelter, to explore the surroundings further the next day. On the balcony of my room I wait for the twilight to fall over this magnificent nature. The gloomy rain clouds have been torn apart. Here and there a piece of the sky comes through. When it has become dark for a moment, in the far East, above the long silent valley of the Pleistos, the moon rises above the mountains, silvering a few clouds that descended deep into the great mountain gorge. A soft light now shines in the depths; the valley is lovely. But the mountain walls on both sides, shrouded in shadow, are now terribly threatening, gloomy black. Oppressively high they embrace the light below. I begin to understand that here the Greeks thought they could hear the voice of their god...
- 1705 The next morning, armed with "Les ruines de Delphes" by E. Bourquet, I begin the visit to the excavations, too extensive for me to attempt to give more than a single impression of them here. Already in ancient times this place, thanks to the sulphurous vapour rising from the crevices in the rocks, was dedicated to the worship of the gods of the underworld; it was then called Pytho, and had, near a cave, inhabited by a snake Python, symbol of the underworld, an oracle, whose service was exercised by Pythia. In later times, sailors introduced the cult of Apollo Delphimos, worshipped in the form of a dolphin. Since this god, under the name of Apollon Pythios, "took possession" of this oracle, the name Pytho was changed to Delphi.
- 1715 Doubt But there is still room for doubt, and Prag himself provides arguments for it: "They say he looks like me! I don't see it that way myself, but the head, fully made up, stood here in the room for a while and my assistant who was working at a table opposite, got the fright of her life every time she looked up! We had to take him away."
- 1720 But Prag derives much confidence from a small ivory statue of the deceased that was in his grave. It belongs to the cabaret, which in Greece long before official art depicted people as they were. The resemblance to the reconstruction is striking. Neave naturally does not claim a complete likeness. Although he himself is sometimes impressed by what the method used can achieve. "I've done Egyptians, police cases, but before and after that of course also control experiments, with corpses of which I only saw the photos afterwards. I once had an assistant here reconstruct the face of an Australian aborigine man, who were quite different. He didn't know that and therefore didn't trust what came out of his hands. He did it four times before he came to me: I can't do it any other way. He was very angry that I hadn't said anything all that time. But I couldn't help it: I wanted to prove something to myself."
- 1730 Despite all the scientific guarantees, he realizes that he is working on the border between science and art. "You have so much freedom with lips, the nose, the position of the eyes. There are rules of thumb for it, but afterwards you still look at it with the feeling of the artist, changing minute details. Until you get the feeling: that's how it must have been, that's how it looks like a person who really existed."
- 1740 2 October 1987 'I spy with my little eye' is not just a child's game Medgessy has actually read letters By R.A. Tybout The front page of NRC Handelsblad recently reported that Canadian art historian Rolph Medgessy has discovered microscopic signatures by Goya on numerous paintings and drawings that were previously attributed to his most illustrious predecessors. Leonardo da Vinci, Michelangelo, Titiaan, Rubens, Rembrandt and Velazquez: they would all have to cede the claim to some of their best-known works to their younger colleague, who would thereby be branded as a forger. If even a part of Medgessy's observations were correct, it would mean a true

1750 revolution in art history. Now revolutions, even when they take place entirely on paper, should be strongly distrusted. The reaction from professional circles was therefore predominantly negative: the signatures "in unusual places, such as nostrils, earlobes, corners of the eyes and eyebrows" are not visible to others and, what is sufficient, a pre-Goyan past can be demonstrated for some works. The psychological aspect is interesting about this true history: the scholar who 'after twenty years of research' is the only one who believes he can read twelve signatures by Goya on the Venus with the Mirror attributed to Velazquez. Prof. E. van de Wetering already addressed this: "it is a kind of delusion that you as an art historian often encounter in practice. You see something in fly droppings, paint flakes and surface dirt and you recognize scribbles in it".

1755 It can be added that you will read what you expect to find. Tampering with almost invisible signatures, spectacular forgeries: that is really something for the author of a work entitled 'The Secret Life of Goya' - a rich subject, with which several more books could be filled if desired.

Talking stones

1765 That the imagination noted by Van de Wetering can take on considerably stronger forms is proven by a tragicomic affair that recently took place in another scientific field: that of Greek epigraphy. The epigraphician is concerned with deciphering and interpreting texts, usually carved on marble or stone blocks. These 'talking stones' are excavated after an underground stay of usually more than two thousand years. They can also be reused as building material, for example for a threshold in a modern

1770 Greek or Turkish home. Moisture, cracks, wear and tear or the shuffling of countless soles often damaged the once clearly legible letters. The epigraphician is then tasked with determining what was or could have been written on the stone. Sometimes he is helped by literary sources, which can contain historical data with the help of which the text of an inscription can be approximately reconstructed. The ideal

1775 situation is of course one in which effortlessly legible inscriptions confirm the data already known from the literary tradition. Anyone who, with his new text, finally gets a stagnated discussion out of the doldrums has climbed epigraphic Olympus.

Sanctuary of Apollo

1780 Incidentally, our story takes place in Delphi, in the famous sanctuary of Apollo. Pausanias visited this in the second century AD and noted in his Guide to Greece: "at the entrance to the sanctuary one sees a bronze bull, made by Theopropos of Aegina, consecrated by the inhabitants of Corcyra (...). Then follow consecrations of the inhabitants of Tegea consisting of what they took from the Spartans (...). On the

1785 opposite side are votive offerings of the Spartans from the booty taken from the Athenians".

The precise location of the three monuments is unclear: what is on the left and what on the right side of the Sacred Way? The modern visitor sees a considerable number of foundations on loose blocks in the intended area. But which of these correspond to the monuments mentioned by Pausanias?

1790 In 1981 Claude Vatin, a scholar of hitherto undisputed scientific conduct, published numerous interesting inscriptions, which seemed to solve the problems outlined once and for all. He read all these texts on blocks that had been excavated towards the end of the previous century. No one had ever noticed that they were written on. Just

1795 as Schliemann was guided by Homer in the excavation of Troy, so our scholar must have had his Pausanias in his pocket. He began, as Pausanias, at the entrance to the Apollo sanctuary. Immediately to the right there stands a limestone block. Could this not very well be the pedestal of the bull of the Korkyraioi mentioned by Pausanias? After long observation, Vatin began to distinguish letters on the heavily weathered

1800 stone surface. And what did he read? "Korkyraioi"! Not just in one single version, but five times, with which Vatin clearly lags behind the giant scores of Medgessy.

Triumph

1805 The confirmation of his suspicions must have been a triumph for him. Encouraged by this, he read on the same block: "Theopropos the Aeginetian made this monument". The original signature, and in the Aeginetic alphabet! But that was not all. Pausanias also mentions that the Korkyraioi dedicated the bull to Apollo as a 'tenth' of an abundant tuna catch. What Vatin read more can now be read by anyone honorary reader guess: "As a tenth because of the lucky tuna catch, to Apollo".

1810 According to Pausanias, next to the bull stood a monument for the victory of the Tegeates over the Spartans. From Xenophon's Greek History we know that it concerns the attack on a Spartan naval station in 370-369 BC. Armed with this information, Vatin went to the ruins of the colonnade next to the supposed bull pedestal. On a block of the stylobate that was also heavily weathered, he found two inscriptions

- 1815 carved on top of each other: "The Tegeates from Arcadia dedicate the sails captured from the Spartans to Apollo as a tenth" and a ditto text in which 'weapons' takes the place of 'sails'.
- 1820 As if this were not enough, Vatin read fragments of seven (!) almost identical texts on other parts of the building. There was now no doubt about Pausanias' Spartan trophies from the battle against the Athenians, which were situated 'on the other side': they were of course placed opposite the colonnade.
- 1825 Vatin also went to work further on in the sanctuary. According to Pausanias, the statue of an ox stood on the square in front of the Temple of Apollo, dedicated to the deity by the inhabitants of Plataiai in memory of their victory over the Persian troops in 479 BC, achieved together with the other Greeks. In this famous battle, the Greeks finally freed themselves from the Persian threat. Who wouldn't like to find a contemporary document that records their victory?
- 1830 Now, in the place indicated by Pausanias, there is a block with a clearly legible signature on one side of the sculptor Theopropos, mentioned earlier. It has been thought that this block contains the pedestal of the bull of the Korkyraioi, which must have been dragged from its original location to the square in front of the Apollo temple after the demolition of the monument in times of decay.
- 1835 But what did Vatin manage to extract from the uneven top of the block? Nothing less than the following dedication: "The Plataeans dedicate this to Apollo, booty taken as revenge from the Persians". For the concept of revenge, Vatin refers to Aeschylus and thus makes his inscription into a paragraph in Greek intellectual history.
- 1840 Not a single letter of any of these texts is visible on the photographs published by Vatin. That is why he helps his reader with sketches he made himself on which his lectures can be seen.
- 1845 These images have not been able to convince other Delphi experts. Scholars from the French School in Athens have subjected the blocks studied by Vatin to a new investigation, with all the technical aids available to the epigraphician. Their unanimous conclusion: "il n'y a rien, ce sont des illusions". In order to prevent further proliferation of the phantom texts, they shared their findings with a number of other prominent scholars.
- 1850 For C. Habicht, this warning apparently came too late. Perhaps that was just as well. In 1985, he published a very readable book: Pausanias' guide to ancient Greece. His main thesis is that Pausanias is a much more reliable informant than we always thought. No wonder he gratefully made use of what Vatin offered him, because: "How does Pausanias come out of this? With flying colors"! And with that, the circle is complete.
- Projections
- 1855 As is well known, our powers of perception function extremely selectively. It shows us what we want to see, even our own projections. The good faith of Medgessy and Vatin need not be doubted for a moment: they really read their letters. Unlike most visions, however, their illusion has not crystallized into fleeting images, but into concrete and constantly reread texts. That shows once again how much the human brain is capable of. 'I see, I see what you do not see!' No, that is not child's play.
- 1860 The author is co-editor of the Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum and works at the Department of Ancient History at Leiden University.
- Photos Above: drawing by C. Vatin of inscriptions on the pedestal of the bull of the Korkyraioi. Below: Vatin's drawing of inscriptions on the colonnade of Tegea.
- 7 January 1988 A discovery in Delphi: Etruscan inscriptions in a Greek sanctuary?
Claude Vatin and the benefit of the doubt
By J.A.K.E. de Waele
- 1865 Anyone who has ever entered the hospitable home of Claude Vatin in one of the picturesque villages near Aix-en-Provence knows that in one of his study rooms there is an impressive series of shelves along all the walls. On these shelves the French scholar has stored the harvest of almost 25 years of epigraphic research in Delphi.
- 1870 In recent years he has 'abgeklatscht' thousands of stones scattered here and there in the sanctuary, a process in which blotting paper is placed on a stone and then moistened. The blotting paper dries in all the irregularities, scratches and cracks of the stone. In negative, on the underside of the blotting sheet to see all traces.
- 1875 In this way, ancient inscriptions engraved in the stone can also be deciphered in the study. In an article on the Opinion page of NRC Handelsblad, R.A. Tybout recently sided with unnamed scholars of the French school, who declared that Vatin's lectures were based on fantasy. Here an attempt is made to make clear how spectacular Vatin's discoveries are and how accurate his working methods are. One must have examined the stones themselves for a long time and studied the Abklatsche if one wants to criticize Vatin's results.

1880 After the French school in Athens had previously uncovered monuments in Delphi, the large-scale excavations were decided upon in 1892 by the French parliament in an atmosphere of animosity with the German Empire. After the reparations that France was forced to make after the Franco-German war of 1870-1871, the German Empire had large amounts of gold in its coffers. This was used to finance the excavations at Olympia

1885 1875-1881, a form of development work *avant la lettre*. The decision of the French National Assembly to beat the Germans to Delphi must also be seen as an attempt to make up for the damaged glory of the fatherland, at least in science. The German archaeologists watched with dismay as this important excavation at Delphi, where they had already done the necessary preparatory work, passed them by. The

1890 sanctuary was uncovered by French scientists in record time. This was not always done very accurately, but at a time when wages were still low, an immense area was explored. This sacred area is now one of the tourist attractions of the Greek world. One is impressed by the imposing scenery of the steep pink-grey rocks, between which the ruins are nestled. Apollo once spoke here through his famous Oracle, to which the entire Greek world listened. The discussions between the digging French and the Germans on the sidelines frequently flared up. In a time of positivist criticism, in which every ancient text was arbitrarily changed if it did not seem to match archaeological observations, polemics were conducted that sometimes seemed to be a direct continuation of the armed Franco-German conflict. Pomtow, a German

1900 archaeologist and historian who has been occupied with Delphi all his life, has summarized his life's work in an encyclopedia article of 120 densely printed pages of text. He turned against the "French method, particularly beloved in Delphi, of 'ignoring' stones and facts that do not suit them".

Justification

1905 The French response was inevitable; in a youthful work, the French Nestor of epigraphy at Delphi seeks a justification for the attitude of 'ignoring' the various arguments of the German researcher. However, many controversial questions are still unresolved and it may be called a favourable development that now some young German archaeologists are making sensational discoveries thanks to sensitive photography. As

1910 a result, one of the greatest controversies seems to be resolved soon, which means that the ancient writers – and the French archaeologists – are once again proven right. Knowledge of this background is essential to understand the situation in which Vatin finds himself. With a sharp eye he has examined stones and *Abklatsche* and has

1915 overturned many established ideas. One of the sacred houses that is threatened concerns the statues of two archaic young men who have been identified with Cleobis and Biton since the discovery site. According to the story, these had pulled their mother, priestess of the goddess Hera, to the sanctuary in her chariot at "tos" – six km in the burning sun! When they had succumbed to exhaustion, their fellow citizens

1920 set up their statues in Delphi. In 1893, a group of statues of two young men was excavated in Delphi. The inscription on the base was read as if it were Cleobis and Biton. However, Vatin believes that he can see the two Dioscuri, Castor and Pollux, in the group. This is not believed by many colleagues. Nevertheless, the inscription on the base of the statues has never

1925 been read in such a way that all scholars came to a unanimous interpretation.

Pausanias

The reading of the stones with which Vatin makes the reconstruction that is so criticized by Tybout is no different. It must be stated in advance that Vatin's reading is based on a text by Pausanias, which Pomtow changed with the approval of

1930 all scholars because the text did not seem to correspond with the situation in the field. This ancient writer Pausanias, who in the second century AD compiled a 'Baedeker' of ancient Greece, was vilified at the end of the previous century as a scholar who, sitting at his desk, frantically copied earlier authors without actually doing so.

1935 He ever saw the places he describes. Fortunately, this picture has changed radically in modern times. The ancient historian Christian Habicht, who teaches at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, has contributed greatly to this rehabilitation of Pausanias, because he has shown how much Pausanias became the personal enemy of a German classicist and his school. But that is another story.

1940 The polemic flared up again when Vatin discovered a bilingual inscription in Etruscan and Greek from Delphi. The editors of the journal where he offered his article refused to publish it. Vatin then announced his data at an Etruscan conference in Italy. The majority of the colleagues present there received this message as a sensational discovery. The document will certainly receive special attention from

1945 ancient historians and Etruscanologists in the coming years. The historical importance of the inscription in particular must be investigated.

1950 The correctness of Vatin's observation is not doubted in these circles. She testifies to a method by which the French scholar comes into the limelight in a completely different light than he was previously portrayed in this magazine. Perhaps the French colleagues working in Delphi feel a slight irritation that stones that have been known for so long still appear to contain important epigraphic data. Do they experience it as a disgrace to the national research that has been taking place in Delphi for more than a century? The fact that French epigraphers also have a razor-sharp pen and a great deal of power quickly makes an underdog hopeless and

1955 despondent.

But great discoverers in archaeology have already been greeted with derision by their colleagues: the merits of Schliemann are now almost universally recognized. He was also lucky that the weight of the gold he found tipped the scales in his favor. That he has given Greece back a piece of history is now clear to everyone. And when

1960 Marinatos offered an article to a magazine in which he identified Thera with Atlantis, the editors disclaimed all responsibility in a note. Fortunately, the Greek archaeologist would once again be able to test his theory in practice through the spectacular finds.

Weathered

1965 A rectangular stone from Delphi has long been known on which the following can be read: "(a tenth of the booty?) have dedicated to Apollo the Tyrrhenians, i.e. the Etruscans". What exactly the Etruscans dedicated is unknown because the upper part of the stone is damaged. The same name was also previously written under the last word 'Tyrrhenians', but it has weathered so much over the years that it has been

1970 reapplied. To his great surprise, Vatin also read a few more letters from the older, heavily weathered inscription, of which 'Kymaion helontes' (= conquered from the inhabitants of Kyme) was the most important. He concluded that this stone had been dedicated after a victory by the Etruscans over Kyme, a Greek city north of Naples, where one of the earliest Greek colonies was located.

1975 Whether this dedication was set up by the Etruscans in a Greek sanctuary will have to be investigated further. Two conflicts between Kyme and the Etruscans are known from historical sources. Both times the Greeks were victorious. The first time the Etruscans were defeated in about 524 by the tyrant Aristodemos. A few decades later the Syrakusan tyrant Hieron drilled the Etruscan fleet into the ground in the

1980 roadstead of Kyme. Helmets that the Syrakusan set up in Olympia still remain from the last victory. It is not clear what reason the Etruscans saw to place a dedication or booty at Delphi. Perhaps the naval battle was not so clearly decided in the Greeks' favour after all.

Bilingual

1985 This discovery prompted Vatin to take another good look at the sides of the stone. What he found there exceeded all expectations. He found a bilingual dedication in Greek and Etruscan. The Greek text reads in translation: "This tripod was consecrated by the Velthanes (?) as a gift from the spoils taken from the Chalkidians at Kyme". Too good to be true. The older inscription on the stone can be found attached to the

1990 side!

Encouraged by this discovery, Vatin continued his search for traces of Etruscans in Delphi. Now, traditionally, a treasury - a temple-like building in which the precious consecrations were placed - had been attributed to an Etruscan city. It concerns a foundation behind the rebuilt treasury of the Athenians in Delphi. It is built of an

1995 unusually dark (tuff?) stone that was assumed to have been brought from Etruria by sea and assembled in Delphi. In itself, this is not unusual; in other sanctuaries, entire buildings were also brought to Greece from Sicily, for example.

However, Vatin was initially very sceptical about the attribution. However, when he carefully examined all the blocks, he found an inscription written in Greek, local

2000 Delphic alphabet: "To Apollo of Delphi the Velthanes have brought a consecration". Furthermore, on another side of the treasury the inscription could be read: "The Tyrrhenians achieved on the inhabitants of Kyme".

Velthanes

This inscription was written in a later period than the one mentioned earlier.

2005 Apparently, the inscription was also renewed here in the second instance. This time, however, it no longer refers to 'Velthanes' but to 'Tyrrhenians'. According to the first inscription, a treasury of the Velthanes was built here in the fifth century BC. The inscription was renewed again afterwards, this time in the name of the Tyrrhenians, probably because the older text mentioning the Velthanes was less deeply engraved and had become difficult to read. From the ancient sources it appears that there were treasuries of the Etruscan cities of Agylla and Spina in Delphi.

2010 Who these Velthanes were has not yet been investigated. Two possibilities present

- 2015 themselves. Either it concerns a consecration of the league of cities that met annually in the sanctuary of Volsinii (= Velthanes?) near present-day Bolsena, or a connection must be sought with the Etruscan name of Bologna, 'Felsina'. Geographically, this last city is closer to Spina, but then it remains a mystery how and when these Etruscans waged war with the inhabitants of the Greek Kyme. This gives ancient historians and Etruscanologists a new bone to chew on. How incredible do Vatin's observations sound! But also unbelievable? Those who know him
- 2020 will be inclined to take him seriously for his careful working methods and scientific seriousness as a scholar and epigrapher. Despite the criticism of his colleagues, Vatin still deserves the benefit of the doubt. The author is an extraordinary professor of classical archaeology at the Catholic University of Nijmegen.
- 2025 Photos The treasury of the Athenians at Delphi. On the left Vatin's drawing of the front of the stone and on the right his drawing of the left side with the bilingual, Etruscan and Greek, inscription. The statue group of Cleobis and Biton (?) at Delphi.
- 2030 16 February 1988 Etruscanologist Pallottino also doubts the working methods of the French scholar Vatin's observation deserves scepticism
By R.A. Tybout
Claude Vatin believes he has discovered Etruscan inscriptions in a sanctuary at Delphi. Nonsense? According to the Dutch archaeologist De Waele (last month on the Opinion page) he should be given the benefit of the doubt. That does not alter the
- 2035 fact that the French scholar sees inscriptions that have remained invisible to others. Some time ago it was reported that Rolph Medgessy had read numerous microscopic signatures by Goya on important paintings by several old masters. The straw fire of this news was quickly extinguished by the fact that none of his colleagues appeared to be able to see what Medgessy saw. On the Opinion page of NRC
- 2040 Handelsblad I then pointed out a similar affair in the field of Greek epigraphy: Claude Vatin published a series of interesting texts, which he claims to read on the weathered surface of various blocks in the Apollo sanctuary at Delphi. In this case too, colleagues reacted extremely sceptically. Not so J.A. de Waele, who on this page broke a lance for Vatin. It would have been relevant if he had published a photo of a
- 2045 stone or Abklatsch from which it would appear that there are indeed letters present. 'Abklatschen' is a procedure in which blotting paper is placed on a stone and moistened. The negative of the dried sheet then shows the irregularities and cracks (and possible letters) in the stone.
- 2050 Abklatsche are an 'instrument de travail'. Every epigraphician in the field documents his findings with this prepared blotting paper, among other things. Later, in the peace of his study, he can arrive at a text constitution, whether or not justified. Furthermore, De Waele attempts to explain why Vatin's lectures encounter resistance. Not facts, but feelings of unease from his fellow 'Delphiens' are said to be
- 2055 responsible for this. It is an old song: the brilliant loner who, because he would pose a threat to the established scientific order, would be ignored or marginalized by it. An attempt is made to reverse the burden of proof and to arouse the sympathy of the general public for the 'underdog'. All this is only interesting as a psychological mechanism, but has no value for disciplines other than psychology.
- 2060 Verifiable
But back to the bare facts! Anyone who thinks he can report something of importance publishes his findings in a professional journal. Vatin did the same. Anyone who also wants to gain approval from colleagues should ensure that at least his factual material is verifiable. Vatin did not do so. Note: this does not apply to all his
- 2065 work, but it does apply to a large part of the articles on Delphic inscriptions included in various magazines since 1981, including the texts I mentioned in NRC Handelsblad. On the photographs of stones or Abklatsche that Vatin provides in some cases, not a single letter is visible. This circumstance is, to put it euphemistically, unique.
- 2070 It does happen that letters on photographs in comparable publications are illegible, or that the weathered stone surface allows for more readings of certain letters: for example, on the pedestals of the statues of 'Kleobis and Biton' mentioned by De Waele. However, there has never been any doubt that these pedestals bear inscriptions. The precise reading of these visible letters is open to dispute. A different kind of problem arises with the texts that I quoted in translation: no one
- 2075 except Vatin has been able to observe a single letter. The latter applies to a large number of other Delphic inscriptions that Vatin thinks he reads. These texts show the same profile, with somewhat suspicious contours: they are extremely interesting, groundbreaking in many vexed questions and almost always in perfect agreement with

- 2080 what we know from the literary sources. They are often said to be on stones that also contain an inscription that is visible to everyone. Another characteristic is that Vatin usually does not leave it at one new inscription, but that he gives a series of often engraved identical versions (up to seven!) of a text. All this in a script that, according to Vatin himself, is barely perceptible. For example, on the pedestal of the famous 'Danseuses de Delphes' (in the museum at Delphi), he reads, in addition to the already known fragmentary inscription of the oath, eight new texts (some identical), which provide answers to all the questions that this group of statues has raised among generations of scholars: the occasion and date of the dedication ('victory of Athens over Sparta'; '375-374 BC'), the identity of the dedicators ('The Athenians and their allies'), of the artist (none other than 'Praxiteles'!) and of a later restorer ('Philodemos', 'second century BC'). Can it be more beautiful? "Too good to be true", writes De Waele in response to another cookie from Vatin's dough. One should be warned not to take this Greek-Etruscan pastry without a few grains of salt.
- 2085
- 2090 Now it could be that all appearances are wrongly against Vatin. Therefore, De Waele is right when he says that verification of Vatin's proposals should ultimately be done on site in Delphi and after thorough study by Abklatsche of the stones in question. Well, that was done, with the result mentioned. And by epigraphists of various persuasions. At the time, I spared the readers of NRC Handelsblad their names. There are indeed 'Delphiens' among them from the French school in Athens.
- 2100 Their secretary J.-Y. Empereur informed the editors of the *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* (a publication in book form that organizes and makes accessible the annual harvest of Greek inscriptions) of their findings in writing. But perhaps none of them could discover a letter because they were collectively cross-eyed with jealousy. My quote "il n'y a rien, ce sont des illusions" however comes from a similar written warning from a scholar who is out of reach of any possible bad vapours of the Delphic Pythia: O. Masson, a French 'epigraphist without party' of undisputed reputation. De Waele is silent about a few extremely relevant professional publications in this matter. Who is actually "ignoring" whom? Are supposed enemies ignoring Vatin or is De Waele ignoring the fictitious company of conspirators? These publications show that
- 2105 Vatin is by no means being ignored silently and that he is not at all hostile a priori.
- 2110 For example, there is the Crete expert P. Faure (also not a 'Delphien'), who, like Vatin, examined the texts on the pedestals of 'Kleobis and Biton' (*L'Antiquité Classique* 54, 1985, pp. 56-65). The nice thing is that Vatin is right about his reading of these visible texts as a dedication to the Dioscuri. So there is no trace of partiality; it is very possible that 'Cleobis and Biton' should be relegated to the realm of fable. But about a number of never-observed texts that Vatin also reads here and there on the images, he writes: "I am obliged, but it may be that my eyes are not good enough, to say that I see nothing of it." And neither on the original,
- 2115 nor on plaster casts, nor on Abklatsche, nor on colour and black and white photos.
- 2120
- Pallottino
- These negative findings are not limited to the French borders. Vatin's bilingual Greek-Etruscan text also stirred up Italian pens. For example, the Etruscanologist M. Cristofan concluded after studying stone and Abklatsche: "I have not seen a single sign that could be interpreted with certainty as belonging to an alphabet" (*Xenia* 8, 1984, p. 13). What does De Waele tell the reader when he speaks about the reception of Vatin's findings among Etruscans? "The correctness of Vatin's observation is not doubted in these circles."
- 2125 No doubt? There is another person from 'these circles' who shed light on the matter: none other than the doyen of Etruscans, Massimo Pallottino, wrote a nuanced, but again sceptical, consideration of Vatin's bilingual text under the title *De cippus van Delphi en het 'casualt Vatin'* (*Studi Etruschi* 53, 1987, pp. 7-14). Pallottino operates as cautiously as possible and makes every effort to give Vatin the 'benefit of the doubt' – ultimately without positive results. He looks at the matter from three points of view. First, the technical-epigraphical side: are there indeed letters on the stone in question? Here Pallottino can do little more than establish that no one except Vatin has been able to perceive even a single letter of the disputed texts. He himself has studied some of Vatin's Abklatsche. For the sake of completeness he mentions that "with much good will" two irregularities could be
- 2130 interpreted as letter signs, but he adds: "There is nothing else to see than this, which could just as well be pure illusion and then explain how it is possible that illusory readings (of letters) are born from unintentional scratches on the stone, wear or irregularities in the surface."
- 2135
- Aplu
- 2140
- 2145 Second, Pallottino provides a linguistic analysis of the Etruscan part of Vatin's

- text. He notes that it is internally consistent and corresponds word for word with Vatin's Greek counterpart text. Of course, that says nothing about the authenticity of either version: either a late archaic Etruscan or Vatin has translated the Greek into neat Etruscan – except for one detail, "fairly decisive," according to
- 2150 Pallottino. In the archaic period, from which the inscription is said to originate based on its content, one would not expect the syncopated form Aplu instead of Apulu as the name of the god Apollo. Then follows a cautious phrase: "One would truly say that the author of a hypothetical, learned, and ingenious Etruscan version of a Greek text inspired by the Delphic vowel inscription would have made a rather serious
- 2155 mistake here through inattention."
- Pallottino's third consideration concerns "the personal and psychological profile" of some of the statements that Vatin added to the publication of his inscriptions. He notes that they are sincere, but that they do show an unmistakably apologetic slant: Vatin writes that one must have experience and patience to be able to read his texts,
- 2160 that he does not act out of a desire for fame, nor because there is anything suggestive about finding an Etruscan text, which to his own surprise gradually became apparent to him.
- Pallottino's final conclusion: "illusory or not, we have no other material evidence of Vatin's readings than his own explanation. We can, if we wish, give credence to
- 2165 that explanation. But unfortunately science does not base itself on professions of faith."
- Whatever one may think of this remarkable history (I still consider it plausible that Vatin 'projected' entirely in good faith into the numerous fissures and cracks of the rough stone letters that are not there): a strong doubt about the reliability of
- 2170 Vatin's observations is certainly justified.
- The author is co-editor of the *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* and works at the Department of Ancient History at Leiden University.
- Photos The Etruscan scholar Massimo Pallottino is sceptical about Vatin's discovery. Also: the Delphic twins: Dioscuri or 'Kleobis and Biton'?
- 2175 4 July 1989 Pausanias' travel guide to Greece restored to its former glory after a hundred years
- Jos de Waele
- Dr. J. de Waele is professor of classical archaeology at the Catholic University of Nijmegen.
- 2180 The Greek writer Pausanias, who wrote his 'Description of Greece' around 150 AD, is not exactly among the top ten of ancient literature. Little is known about his life. He lived during the Roman imperial period and came from the vicinity of Smyrna in Asia Minor. He deals with the Greek mainland in a dry manner, which he describes as smaller than the present-day Balkan state. As a child of his time, Pausanias looks
- 2185 back as far as we do to the heyday of Gothic cathedrals in classical Greece. His interest lies in the cities and monuments of classical Hellas, which still attract many tourists as ruins.
- However, one should not expect Pausanias to provide the detailed descriptions of a Baedeker, Guide bleu or Cantecler guide. His text is not intended as a manual on the spot, but as reading material in the study of the educated intellectual of the
- 2190 imperial period. That is why Pausanias alternates the descriptions of the places with long excursions into mythological and historical background information.
- The value of Pausanias was recognized early on by archaeologists in the field. After the liberation from the Turks in 1832, many travelers traveled through Greece with
- 2195 Pausanias in their hands. Many archaeological sites have been found and excavated in this way. In the major tourist attractions of Olympia or Delphi, many buildings would not be identifiable without Pausanias' text. That he did his work thoroughly is evident in Olympia, where he lists more than 200 gifts with inscriptions. Of the 115 bases found, 34 inscriptions are also given by Pausanias. In the agora of Athens,
- 2200 during the American excavations in the 1930s, several crucial monuments were also identified, which allows the entire walk of Pausanias to be reconstructed in broad outline.
- Nevertheless, the ancient Baedeker has not always been so highly valued in the scientific literature. In the previous century, the Berlin school, led by the famous
- 2205 Greek Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, severely damaged the reputation of the ancient author. Pausanias was said to have been a 'miserable compiler' and an 'Erzkonfusionar', who copied most of his text from others at home without having travelled much himself.
- Although archaeologists immediately came forward with good arguments for Pausanias,
- 2210 the attacks of the Berlin professor and his pupils were merciless. The latter cut down their victims like true epigones, so that many suspicions remained despite all the good services that the 'old Baedeker' had rendered to the archaeologists.

- 2215 Recently, however, it became clear to what Pausanias owed this. On 18 April 1873, a German travel party left Olympia and headed for Arcadia. Among these grand tourists were hereditary princes and country squires from the Prussian nobility. Due to his knowledge of ancient Greek, Von Wilamowitz was in charge. As reading material, he had a Pausanias text in his pocket. Due to an incorrect interpretation – he did not realise that he was following Pausanias in the opposite direction – he took the wrong path and after a few hours he had to admit that he was hopelessly lost. The young
- 2220 scholar then became the butt of the ridicule of his fellow travellers. Shortly afterwards the first publications appeared in which Von Wilamowitz tried to show that Pausanias was completely unreliable: "The whole rat-king of contradictions and errors... can only be explained by the fact that Pausanias thoughtlessly copies an earlier description, sometimes weaving his own memories into it and more often
- 2225 supplementing it with quotations from other authors; over all this he hangs a rococo mantle of sophistic absent-mindedness and infantile erodotus imitation." Only recently has Christian Habicht, a former historian at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, found the reason for this trauma: in Von Wilamowitz's wounded pride. Only now can the full rehabilitation of an author be initiated, of whom the
- 2230 famous British historian of religion Sir James Frazer once wrote: "Pausanias could never have foreseen how 1700 years later severe professors would condemn him. Had he seen this coming, he might never have written his entire description of Greece and we would have to regret the loss of one of the most curious and valuable documents that Antiquity has left us."
- 2235 30 April 1993 The mysterious farmers of the Iron Age
In search of the Celts in the Netherlands
by Pieter Steinz
- The Netherlands has never had much time for the Celts, even though they were here once. Even the exhibition that the Allard Pierson Museum dedicates to them ends with
- 2240 a question mark: The Celts in the Netherlands? They have not left many traces and the little that there is seems very Roman to the layman. But appearances can be deceptive. "No Roman would dream of building a temple in the countryside."
- Generations of grammar school students and readers of the adventures of Asterix can dream of them: the famous opening sentences of Caesar's Notes on the Gallic War.
- 2245 'Gaul is divided into three parts', the Roman conqueror teaches, and then names the native inhabitants as Belgae (in the North), Aquitani (in the South) and 'people who in their own language are called Celtae but in ours Galli.' The Belgae are the furthest removed from the civilizing influence of the provincia (the Romanized Provence), and are constantly at war with the wild Germans from across the Rhine.
- 2250 That is why, Caesar concludes, they are the bravest of all the Gallic peoples. Caesar knew what he was talking about. When he published his Notes in 51 BC, formerly all of Gaul had been occupied, but in the area between the Rhine and the Marne it had cost him a lot of effort and manpower. For five years he had fought a bloody war there with various Belgian tribes, and especially with the Eburones under their chief
- 2255 Ambiorix. After losing an entire legion in 54, he opted for drastic measures. The enemy was systematically massacred, his lands ransacked, his places of residence wiped off the map. The Eburones disappeared from history. They suffered the fate of the other Celtic tribes on the mainland to an extreme extent: once defeated by the legions, they were absorbed into the Imperium Romanum and transformed into decent
- 2260 'Gallo-Romans'.
- Two thousand years after Julius Caesar, the Celts are making their comeback in historiography. Interest in civilisations from the Iron Age (700-50 BC) is growing and exhibitions of Celtic gold and silver attract full museums. In addition, the importance of the Celts for European culture is increasingly valued; at the time of
- 2265 the great Celt exhibition, two years ago in Venice, they were even proclaimed by some scholars as the real pioneers of a united Europe. That the hundreds of different Celtic tribes in Europe had no central government and at most a Celtic dialect in common was conveniently forgotten in the euphoria.
- More has been fantasized about the ancient Celts. This is not surprising, because
- 2270 unlike their conquerors, the Romans, they have left no written sources. What we know about them comes from the books of classical historians and ethnographers. They regarded the 'Keltoi' (also called 'Galli' or 'Galatae') as unspoiled savages, who from the sixth century BC had swarmed out from the Alps all over Europe and had plundered Rome and Delphi, among other places. The tall barbarians wore trousers, bracae, wore thick golden neck rings, torques, washed their hair in a lime bath, and
- 2275 were known for their fearlessness. The story of the meeting between Alexander the Great and a Celtic embassy on the Danube is famous. Alexander asked what the Celts feared most, and expected the answer to be 'You, sir.' But the envoys declared that they were only afraid of one thing, namely that the sky would fall on their heads.

2280 Their answer would surprise the Greeks and Romans for centuries to come, and is still one of the running gags of the Asterix comics today.

Fighting and partying

2285 Just like in the rest of Europe, there seems to be more attention in the Netherlands recently for pre-Roman culture, for the forgotten tribes that lived between the Rhine and the Scheldt [Schelde] before (but also after) the beginning of our era. At the end of 1992, the A.G. Foundation van Hamel for Celtic Studies, organised a campaign to raise awareness of the pre-Roman culture. A symposium was held at which the Celts in the Netherlands were discussed. This coming autumn, the exhibition 'Fighting and partying among the Celts' will take place in Utrecht. And at the moment, a modest 2290 exhibition of Celtic art and utensils can be seen in the Allard Pierson Museum in Amsterdam – as part of the manifestation 'Celtica Nederland' with which Dutch Celtic studies wants to introduce itself to a broad audience. The Netherlands has never had much time for its Celtic past. Ambiorix may have been widely regarded as the Arminius of the Low Countries, but he was first and foremost a Belgian hero, with a statue in 2295 Tongeren. And the Eburones may have lived deep in the Dutch river area, but their ancestral homeland was in Belgian Limburg. In Dutch history books, the Gauls or Belgae were not mentioned as distant ancestors, but the Batavians: a – according to Roman historians – Germanic tribe that descended the Rhine after Caesar's conquests and settled in the Betuwe. The fact that the Celts appeal so little to the 2300 imagination in the Netherlands is undoubtedly because they have left few traces. From abroad you sometimes hear that a Celtic gold treasure has been excavated or a hill fort (oppidum) has been exposed. The British Museum is famous for its display cases full of torques and weapons from the Iron Age, and in the East of Southern France every medium-sized provincial town has a Gallo-Roman museum. But in the Netherlands 2305 no well-known Celtic remains come to mind at first. "That's not so strange," says Celticologist Laurant Toorians, a month before the opening of the exhibition in the Allard Pierson Museum that he helped put together. "The south of the Netherlands was on the edge of the Celtic cultural area, and was also influenced by the Germans from the northeast. There was no 'pure' or rich Celtic culture here, and large oppida such 2310 as at Kessel-Lo or on the Kemmelberg in Flanders have not been found. Many special examples of Celtic culture in the Netherlands also date from the Roman period, and then they are soon seen as more Roman than Gallic."

I went to Toorians to find out what remains of the Celts in the Netherlands. The list is manageable: a few artefacts in the large archaeological museums, a small hill fort 2315 at the Sint Pietersberg (on the Belgian side), and the remains of two Gallo-Roman sanctuaries under the church of Elst and on the Maas near Empel. When I say that the latter surprises me – I have heard of those temples, but weren't they built by the Batavians, and not by the Celts? – Toorians explains that the Batavians are now often counted among the Celtic tribes: the Romans called them Germans because they came 2320 from across the Rhine, but it seems unlikely that they actually spoke Germanic.

Grave field

Before I go looking for the remains of Celtic Netherlands, I call Dr Nico Roymans. He is an Iron Age specialist affiliated with the Institute for Pre- and Protohistory of the University of Amsterdam, and was one of the excavators of the indigenous Roman 2325 'temple of Empel' in 1990. Roymans is even more cautious than Toorians. He would rather not talk about Celts at all ("As an archaeologist I don't work with those kinds of language-based macro-concepts"), but he invites me to take a look at the only Iron Age excavation that is currently being worked on: the burial ground of Mierlo-Hout, near Helmond. We agree to meet in two weeks' time. 2330 In the meantime I immerse myself in the Celts. I read the standard work by the Belgian S.J. De Laet, *Prehistorische culturen in het zuid der Lage Landen* (Wetteren 1979), and visit two archaeological museums with an Iron Age collection. The National Museum of Antiquities turns out not to be worth the trip to Leiden: the Netherlands 2335 department is being reorganised and even the world-famous 'disc of Helden', a gilded-silver hunting scene from the Late Iron Age, is not on display to the public. I have better luck in Museum Kam in Nijmegen (once the Celtic Novio-magus, 'Nieuw-markt'). There is renovation work going on, but fortunately almost all the Celtic masterpieces are on display on the ground floor: an iron sword with bronze scabbard dredged from the Waal (1st century BC); the melted remains of the 'Wagon Grave of Nijmegen', the 2340 final resting place of a local nobleman from the fourth century BC; and a beautiful bronze mirror inlaid with red enamel – the only one of its kind found on the European mainland.

Not far from Nijmegen, in the Over-Betuwe, lies Elst. The town between the Lower Rhine and the Waal, a small Batavian settlement in early Roman times, was badly 2345 damaged in the Battle of Arnhem, but gained an archaeological monument during the restoration of the Gothic Werenfridus Church. The remains of two Gallo-Roman stone

2350 temples were found under the burnt-out nave. The first was built around 50 AD and destroyed twenty years later during the Batavian uprising against the Romans. The second, six times as large (31 by 23), was built at the end of the first century – fourteen m high and with a spacious colonnade all around. With an old-fashioned pointer, the church sexton explains the mini-exhibition that is set up in a side aisle. The objects on display look unremarkable and above all Roman: a few pieces of stone, an orange roof tile, and the skull remains of a suovetaurilia, a Roman purification offering consisting of a pig (sus), a sheep (ovis) and a bull (taurus). 2355 More interesting are the temple remains in the large crawl space under the church, a maze of walls, pillars and stone stacks in which, with some help, the various building layers and styles can be discovered. Of Temple II, the foundations of the actual sanctuary (the cella) can be seen and a piece of the colonnade wall. Of Temple I, not much remains than a floor of lime mortar with a large hole in it. But no 2360 matter how closely you look, to the layman's eye everything looks Roman. Elst offers precious little Celtic.

Misty

"Appearances can be deceiving," says Nico Roymans, when I tell him about my disappointing visit to the Betuwe a week later at a misty Helmond-'t Hout station. 2365 "Just like the temple of Empel, the one in Elst is typically indigenous. Of course, the building techniques were Roman and the materials were imported. But no Roman would dream of building a temple in the countryside. That, plus the fact that Roman temples never have a four-sided colonnade, is an indication: Elst and Empel were indigenous sanctuaries, built by the Batavian elite on sites where gods were already 2370 worshipped in the Iron Age."

We walk through a spacious new housing estate to the site of the Iron Age urn field that was recently uncovered. An emergency operation, Roymans emphasizes: "We are digging ahead of the bulldozers, in a few months there will be luxury villas on these sandy soils." In an iron construction shed, which serves as headquarters and coffee 2375 house for four frozen architects, geologists, Roymans explains the excavation using topographic maps. On either side of the shed is a burial ground of 100 by 500 m where, in the periods 650-450 BC and 25-400 AD, two hundred and fifty people were buried after being cremated. An estimated three to five families lived around the burial ground, in wooden thatched roof farms of the so-called 'house type': unlike 2380 abroad, people and cattle slept under one roof in the Netherlands. It all sounds rather unspectacular, and it isn't. The excavation is one of the 'for enthusiasts' category. In the Iron Age, this may have been an idyllic landscape with a few hundred hills, now it is a messy piece of land that is being laboriously prepared for construction. Circles and rectangles are visible in wide, bulldozed 2385 trenches – discolorations that indicate where the graves and the associated ditches once lay. No major finds have been made. Roymans: "The people who lived here had a poor burial ritual, but that does not mean that their culture was poorly developed; after all, we also only bury our dead in a suit. From richer excavations on the sandy soils of Brabant we have at least been able to conclude that there were contacts 2390 between the local elites and the Celtic world of Central Europe."

Back in the coffee shop, Roymans wants to say a bit more about what he calls the Celt question. "The discussion about Celts and Germans in the South of the Netherlands is complicated by the fact that scientists from different disciplines talk past each other. Linguists say: someone is a Celt if he speaks Celtic. Unfortunately, little 2395 Celtic has been handed down in these regions – a handful of names that could just as well have been borrowed – so try to draw a sensible conclusion. Archaeologists base themselves on the material culture and prefer not to stick an ethnic label on the farmers from the Iron Age. We do not speak of Celts, but at most of 'Celticized tribes'. Our research focuses on cultural influence.

2400 "The entire discussion goes back to Caesar. He wanted to go down in history as the conqueror of all of Gaul. Because he could not go on forever, he declared the Rhine the ethnic border between the wild Celts and the even wilder Germanic hordes. But if you had asked an inhabitant of an Iron Age settlement on the Rhine whether he was a Celt or a German, he would have stared at you incredulously. 'I am Jansen van 2405 Pietersen,' he would say, or, if he were very open-minded, perhaps: 'I am an Eburone.'

Punitive expedition

2410 That afternoon I travel on to Maastricht, in a last attempt to get in touch with the spirit of the Celts, or at least that of the Eburones. After a short visit to the Bonnefanten Museum – the archaeology department is being reorganized and the famous Gallic 'cock of Buchten' is not on display – I cycle on a rented Batavus past the Sint Pietersberg and the Eerste Nederlandse Cement Industrie. Just across the Belgian border, a wooded plateau rises on the right side of the road. On top of it, at Kanne-

- 2415 Caster, there is supposed to be a fort from the Gallic War, uncovered in the 1970s. Some scholars believe it was a small oppidum of the Eburones; according to others, it was the legendary Aduatuca, the place where Ambiorix slaughtered six thousand Romans in 54 BC, and from where Caesar later organised his punitive expedition against the Eburones.
- 2420 After a steep climb along a zigzag path, I expect all sorts of things: cobblestone walls, post holes, defensive ditches – whether or not covered with grass and bushes. But there is nothing archaeological to be seen, not even an information sign. Looking out over the rolling ridge, with a canal low in the distance and a meadow with white cows behind me, it dawns on me that the excavations here were of course of the same nature as those at Helmond. The research has been done, the trenches have been filled
- 2425 in again, and there is nothing left to remind us of the Eburones. When I cycle back over the Sint Pietersberg, I realise how thoroughly Caesar went about his work. However brave the Belgae were, there is depressingly little left of them in the Netherlands.
- 2430 The exhibition 'Celts in the Netherlands?' in the Allard Pierson Museum can be seen until 11 June. Amsterdam, Oude Turfmarkt 129. Tue. to Fri. 10am-5pm, Sat. and Sun. 1pm-5pm. Information about the manifestation 'Celtica Nederland' at the Stichting A.G. van Hamel, Postbus 1427, 3500 BK Utrecht.
- THE NETHERLANDS AROUND THE BEGINNING OF OUR CENTURY
Card: NRC Handelsblad/Willum Morsch, 30.04.93
- 2435 The bronze 'cock of Buchten' (h. 15 cm), a votive offering decorated with enamel to the indigenous goddess Arcanua, who had a sanctuary in Buchten, Limburg. Second century AD
- Reconstruction drawing of the large, second Gallo-Roman temple of Elst, built in the last quarter of the first century AD R.O.B. – J. Ipey – C.J. de Vries
- 2440 From: 'Asterix – The Champion' (René Goscinny and Albert Uderzo, 1963)

WHY THE PYTHIA DOES NOT NOW GIVE ORACLES IN VERSE

- I. Basilocles – Philinus.
THE SPEAKERS BASILOCLLES, a citizen of Delphi.
PHILINUS, a friend, perhaps also of Delphi.
- 2445 Bas. "You have made it late in the evening, Philinus, by escorting your guest about amongst the dedicated things: I lost all patience in waiting for you both."
Phil. "Yes, Basilocles, we strolled along slowly – sowing words as we went, and forthwith 'reaping words with strife', that sprung up and emerged along our path, like the crop of the Dragon's Teeth, spiteful and contentious words."
- 2450 Bas. "Will it then be necessary to ask one of those who were there at the time, or are you willing yourself to oblige us and repeat your conversation? and tell us who were the speakers?"
Phil. "That task, it seems, is mine, for you won't find the others easily; I saw most of them going up again to the Corcium and the Lycoreia, in company with the visitor."
- 2455 Bas. "How fond our visitor is of seeing the sites, and how extravagantly fond of hearing stories!"
Phil. "Rather, fond of history, and willing to learn; and not so much to be admired for these two qualities, as for gentleness combined with elegance of manner, and then an incredulity and a fondness for disputation – the result of intelligence – with
- 2460 nothing in it ill-tempered or stubborn: so that after being a little while in his company you exclaim, 'The child of a good father!' [Plato Republic 368a] You are surely acquainted with Diogenianus, that best of men?"
Bas. "I have not seen him; but I have met many who greatly approve of his conversation and character, and say just the same things of him as you do of the
- 2465 youth. But what was the occasion of this discussion of yours?"
- II. Philinus narrates their conversation.
THE SPEAKERS PHILINUS
DIOGENIANUS, a young visitor from Pergamum, son of Diogenianus.
THEON, a literary friend.
- 2470 SERAPION, Athenian poet.
BOETHUS, a geometrician, nearly a converted Epicurean.
TWO GUIDES to the Temple of Delphi.
- Phil. "The guides were going through their regular spiel, paying no heed to our entreaties that they cut short their long stories and their reading of every single
- 2475 inscription, whatever its interest. The appearance and artistic merit of the statues

- 2480 did not so much attract the notice of the visitor, who had no doubt seen many fine things of the sort elsewhere. But he admired the color of the bronze, which was not like dirt nor like verdigris, but shone with a dark blue dye, so as to contribute considerably to the effect of the statues of the admirals (for there he had begun his tour), standing as they did, sea-like in color, and truly men of the ocean deep. Was there, he asked, some special mode of alloying and preparing the bronze used by the ancient artificers, like the tempering of swords, on the loss of which skill, bronze was exempted from the uses of war? For we know," he continued, "that Corinthian
- 2485 bronze acquired its beauty of color not through any art, but through accident, when a fire consumed a house containing a little gold and silver and a great quantity of bronze; all which being mixed and melted together; and the whole thing took its name from bronze, the preponderating metal."
- 2490 Theon broke in: "We have heard a different story, with a bit of mischief in it. A Corinthian bronze-worker found a chest containing a hoard of gold. Fearing detection, he chipped it off little by little, quietly mixing the bits with bronze; the result was a marvellous blend, which he sold at a high price, as people were delighted with its color and beauty. However, the one story is as mythical as the other; what we may suppose is that some method was known of mixing and preparing, much as now they alloy gold with silver, producing a peculiar and rare, and to my mind a sickly and pallid effect, a perversion with no beauty in it."
- 2495
- III. Diog. "What then has been the cause, do you think, of the color of these bronzes?"
- 2500 Theon "Here is a case in which, of the first and primal elements of Nature – namely, Fire, Earth, Air Water – none comes near to, or has to do with, bronze, except only air: clearly then, air is the agent; from its constant presence and contact the bronze gets its exceptional quality, or perhaps
- 2505 τούτῳ μὲν ᾗδῃ πρὶν θεογονίᾳ γεγονέναι
- Thus much you knew before Theognis was, as the comic poet has it. But what you want to learn, Diogenianus, is perhaps the nature of the air, and the property in virtue of which repeated contact has thus colored the bronze?" Diogenianus said that it was; "And I too," continued Theon; "my young friend, let us continue our quest together; and first, if you will agree, ask why olive oil produces a more copious rust on the metal than other liquids. It does not, of course, actually make the deposit, because it is pure and uncontaminated when applied."
- 2510 Diog. "Certainly not; the real cause appears to me to be something different; the oil is fine, pure, and transparent, so the rust when it meets it is specially evident, whereas with other liquids rust becomes invisible."
- 2515 Theon "Excellent, my young friend, that is prettily put. But consider also, if you please, the cause given by Aristotle."
- Diog. "I do please. Aristotle says that rust, when it comes into contact with other liquids, passes invisibly through and is dispersed, because the particles are irregular and fine; whereas in dense oil it is held together and permanently condensed. If, then, we can come to some such hypothesis ourselves, we shall not be entirely at a loss for a spell to charm away this difficulty."
- 2520 IV. We encouraged him and agreed, and Theon went on to say that the air of Delphi is thick and close of texture, with a tenseness caused by reflection from the hills and their resistance, but is also fine and biting, as seems to be proved by the facts of digestion of food. The tenuity allows it to enter bronze, and to scrape up from it much solid rust, which rust again is held up and compressed, because the
- 2525 density of the air does not allow it a passage through; but the deposit breaks out, because it is so copious, and takes on a bright rich hue at the surface. This we applauded, but the visitor remarked that either hypothesis was sufficient for the argument.
- 2530 Diog. "The fineness will be found to be in contradiction to the density you speak of, but there is no necessity to assume it. The bronze, as it ages, exhales or throws off rust by its own inherent action; the density holds together and solidifies the rust, and makes it apparent because of its quantity."
- 2535 Theon broke in, "What is to prevent the same thing being both fine and dense, as silks or fine linen stuffs, of which Homer says
- καίροσέων δ' ὀθονῶν ἀπολείβεται ὑγρόν ἔλαιον,
- And from the close-spun weft the trickling oil will fall, [Od. 7.107: *]
- 2540 where he indicates the minute and delicate workmanship of the fabric by the fact that the oil would not remain, but trickled or glided off, the fineness at once and the density refusing it passage. And again, the scraping up of the rust is not the only purpose served by the tenuity of the air; it also makes the color itself pleasanter to the eye and brighter, mingling lustre with the azure of the blue."

- V. Here there was an interval of silence; the guides were getting back to their routine speeches. A certain oracle given in verse was mentioned – I think it was one about the reign of Aegon the Argive – when Diogenianus observed that he had often been surprised at the badness and common quality of the verse in which oracles are delivered. yet the God is Choirmaster of the Muses, and eloquent language is no less his function than beauty of ode for tune, and he should have a voice far above that of Homer and Hesiod in verse. And yet we have the greater part of the oracles a tissue of bad taste, both in diction and in metre. Then Serapion the poet of Athens, said
- 2545 Serap. "Then do we really believe that these verses are the God's, yet venture to say that they fall behind Homer and Hesiod in beauty? Shall we not rather take them as the best and most beautiful in poetry, and revise our judgement of them, as prejudiced by familiarity with a bad standard?"
- 2555 At this point Boethus the geometer – you know him, already well on his way into the Epicurean camp – broke in.
- Boeth. "Have you ever heard the story of Pauson the painter?"
- Serap. "No, I have not."
- 2560 Boeth. "Well, it's certainly worth hearing. It seems that he had contracted to paint a horse rolling, and not galloping. The buyer was indignant; so Pauson laughed and turned the canvas upside down, with the result that the lower parts became the upper, and there was the horse rolling, not galloping. So it is, Bion tells us, with certain syllogisms when converted. Thus some will tell us not that the oracles are quite beautiful because they are the God's, but that they are not the God's because they are bad! That point may be left unsettled. But that the verses used in the oracles are bad poetry," he continued, "is made clear also in your judgement, my dear
- 2565 Serapion, isn't it so? For you write poems which are severe and philosophical in subject, but in force, grace, and diction are more like the work of Homer and Hesiod than like the utterances of the Pythia!"
- 2570 VI. Serap. "Yes, we are sick, Boethus, sick in ear, and sick in eye. Luxury and softness have accustomed us to think things beautiful as they are more sweet, and call them so. Soon we shall actually be finding fault with the Pythia because she does not speak with a more thrilling voice than Glaucé the singing-girl, or use costly ointments, or put on purple robes to go down into the sanctuary, or burn on her censer cassia, mastic, and frankincense, rather than her own barley and bay leaves. Do you not see," he went on, "what grace the songs of Sappho have, how they charm and soothe the hearers, while the Sibyl 'with raving mouth,' as Heraclitus says, 'utters words with no laughter, no adornment, no perfumes,' yet makes her voice carry to ten thousand years, because of the God. And Pindar tells us that Cadmus
- 2575 heard from the God 'right music', not sweet music, or delicate music, or twittering music. What is passionless and pure gives no admission to pleasure; she was cast out in this very place, together with pain; and the most of her has dribbled away, it seems, into the ears of men."
- 2580 VII. When Serapion had done, Theon smiled.
- 2585 Theon "Serapion has paid his usual tribute to his own proclivities, making capital out of the turn which the conversation had taken about pain and pleasure! But for us, Boethus, even if these verses are inferior to Homer, let us never suppose that the God has composed them; he only gives the initial impulse according to the capacity of each prophetess. Why, suppose the answers had to be written, not spoken. I do not
- 2590 think we should suppose that the letters were made by God, and find fault with the calligraphy as below royal standard. The strain is not the God's, but the woman's, and so with the voice and the phrasing and the metre; he only provides the fantasies, and puts light into her soul to illuminate the future; for that is what inspiration is. To put it plainly, there is no escaping you prophets of Epicurus – yes, you too,
- 2595 Boethus, are drifting that way – you blame those old prophetesses because they used bad poetry, and you also blame those of today because they use no poetry, and speak the first words which come, that they may not be assailed for delivering headless, hollow, crop-tailed lines."
- 2600 Diog. "Do not jest, in Heaven's name, no! but help us to solve the problem, which interests us all. There is no one who is not in search of a rational account of the fact that the oracle has ceased to use metre and poetry."
- Theon "But right now, my young friend, we seemed to be doing a shabby turn by the guides, keeping them from their proper duties. Suffer them first to do their office; afterwards we shall discuss in peace whatever you wish."
- 2605 VIII. Our round had now brought us in front of the statue of Hiero the tyrant. Most of the stories the foreign visitor knew well, but he good-naturedly lent his ear to them. But at last, when he heard that a certain bronze pillar given by Hiero,

- which had been standing upright, fell of its own accord on the very day when Hiero died at Syracuse, he showed surprise. I set myself to remember similar instances, such as the notable one of Hiero the Spartan, how before his death at Leuctra the eyes fell out of his statue, and the gold stars disappeared which Lysander had dedicated after the naval battle of Aegospotami. And then the stone statue of Lysander himself broke out into such a growth of weeds and grass that the face was hidden. At the time of the Athenian disaster in Syracuse, the golden berries kept dropping off from the palm trees, and crows chipped the shield on the figure of Pallas. Again, the crown of the Cnidians, which Philomelus, tyrant of Phocis, had given to Pharsalia the dancing girl, caused her death, as she was playing near the temple of Apollo in Metapontum, after she had removed from Greece into Italy: for young men made a rush for the crown and in their struggle with one another for the gold, they tore her limb from limb. Now Aristotle used to say that Homer is the only poet who made "words which stir, because of their energy." But I would say that there have been votive offerings sent here which have movement in a high degree, and help the God's foreknowledge to signify things; that none of them is void or without feeling, but all are full of Divinity.
- Boeth. "Very good! So it is not enough to shut the God into a mortal body once every month. We will also knead him into every morsel of stone and brass, to show that we do not choose to hold Fortune, or Spontaneity, a sufficient author of such occurrences."
- Phil. "Then in your opinion," I said, "each of the occurrences looks like Fortune or Spontaneity; and it seems probable to you that the atoms glided forth, and were dispersed, and swerved, not sooner and not later, but at the precise moment when each of the dedicators was to fare worse or better. Epicurus helps you now by what he said or wrote three hundred years ago; but the God, unless he take and shut himself up in all things, and be mingled with all, cannot, you think, initiate movement, or cause change of condition in anything which is."
- IX. Such was my answer to Boethus, and to the same effect about the Sibyl and her utterances. For when we stood near the rock by the Council Chamber, on which the first Sibyl is said to have been seated on her arrival from Helicon, where she had been brought up by the Muses (though others says that she came from the Maleans, and was the daughter of Lamia the daughter of Poseidon), Serapion remembered the verses in which she hymned herself; how she will never cease from prophesying, even after death, but will herself go round in the moon, being turned into what we call the "bright face", while her breath is mingled with the air and borne about in rumours and voices for ever and ever; and her body within the earth is transformed, so that from it spring grass and weeds, the pasture of sacred cattle, which have in their inward parts all the colours, shapes and qualities by which men obtain forecasts of future things. Here Boethus made his derision still more evident. The foreign visitor observed that, although these things have a mythical appearance, yet the prophecies are attested by many uprootings and removals of Greek cities, inroads of barbarian hordes, and the overthrow of dynasties.
- Diog. "These still recent troubles at Cumae and Dicæarchia, 1 were they not long ago foretold in the songs of the Sibyl; so that Time was only discharging his debts in the fires which have burst out of mountains, the boiling seas, the masses of burning rocks tossed aloft by the winds, the ruin of cities many and great, so that if you visit them in broad daylight you cannot get a clear idea of the site, the ground being covered with confused ruins? It is hard to believe that such things have happened at all, let alone that they were predicted long ago – unless with divine assistance."
- X. Boeth. "My good Sir; what does happen in Nature which is not Time paying his debts? Of all the strange, unexpected things, by land or sea, among cities and men, is there any which some one might not foretell, and then, after it has happened, find himself right? Yet this is hardly foretelling at all; it is telling, rather it is tossing or scattering words into the infinite, with no principle in them. They wander about, and sometimes Fortune meets them and falls in with them; but it is all chance. It is one thing, I think, when what has been foretold happens, and quite another when what will happen is foretold. Any statement made about things then non-existent contains intrinsic error; it has no right to await the confirmation which comes from accident; nor is it any true proof of having foretold with knowledge that the thing happened after it was foretold; for Infinity will bring all things. No, the 'good guesser', whom the proverb 2 has announced to be the best prophet, is like a man who hunts on the tail of the future, by the help of the plausible. These Sibyls and Bacises threw into the sea, that is, into time, without having any real clue, nouns and verbs about troubles and occurrences of every description. Some of these prophecies came about, but they were lies; and what is now pronounced is a lie

2675 like them, even if, later on, it should happen to turn out true."

XI. When Boethus had finished, Serapion spoke.

2680 Serap. "The case is quite fairly put by Boethus against prophecies so indefinitely worded as those he mentions, with no basis of circumstance: 'If victory has been foretold to a general, he has conquered; If the destruction of a city, it is overthrown.' But where not only the thing which is to happen is stated, but also the how, the when, after what event, with whose help, then it is not a guess at things which will perhaps be, but a clear prediction of things which will certainly be. Here are the lines with reference to the lameness of Agesilaus: 3

2685 Sure though thy feet, proud Sparta, have a care,
A lame king's reign may see thee trip – Beware!
Troubles unlooked for long shall vex thy shore,
And rolling Time his tide of carnage pour.

"And then again those about the island 4 which the sea threw up off Thera and Therasia, and upon the war between Philip and the Romans:

2690 When Trojan race the victory shall win
From Punic foe, lo! wonders shall begin;
Unearthly fires from out the sea shall flash,
Whirlwinds toss stones aloft, and thunder crash,
An isle unnamed, unknown, shall stand upright,
2695 The weak shall beat the stronger in the fight.

"What happened within a short time – that the Romans mastered the Carthaginians, and brought the war with Philip to a finish, that Philip met the Aetolians and Romans in battle and was defeated, and lastly, that an island rose out of the depths of the sea, with much fire and boiling waves – could not all be set down to chance and spontaneous occurrence. Why, the order emphasizes the foreknowledge, and so does the time predicted to the Romans, some five hundred years before the event, as that in which they were to be at war with all the races at once, which meant the war with the slaves after their revolt. In all this nothing is unascertainable, the story is not left in dim light to be groped out with reference to Fortune 'in Infinity', it gives many securities, and is open to trial, it points the road which the destined event is to tread. For I do not think that any one will say that the agreement with the details as foretold was accidental. Otherwise, what prevents some one else from saying that Epicurus did not write his Leading Principles for our use, Boethus, but that the letters fell together by chance and just spontaneously, and so the book was finished off?"

XII. While we were talking thus, we were moving forward.

In the store-house of the Corinthians we were looking at the golden palm tree, the only remnant of their offerings, when the frogs and water-snakes embossed round the roots caused much surprise to Diogenianus, and for the matter of that, to us. For the palm tree is not, like many others, a marshy or water-loving plant, nor have frogs anything specially to do with the Corinthians. Thus they must be a symbolical or canting device of that city, just as the men of Selinus are said to have dedicated a golden plant of parsley (σέλινον), and those of Tenedos the axe, because of the crabs found round the place which they call Asterium, the only ones, it appears, with the brand of an axe on the shell. Yet the God himself is supposed to have a partiality for crows and swans and wolves and hawks, for anything rather than beasts like crabs. Serapion observed that the artist intended a veiled hint at the sun drawing his aliment and origin from exhalations out of moist plants, whether he had it from Homer,

2725 ἡέλιος δ' ἀπόρουσε λιπῶν περικαλλέα λίμνην

Leaving the beauteous lake, the great sun scaled the brazen sky
or whether he had seen the sun painted by the Egyptians as a new-born child seated on a lotus. I laughed:

2730 Phil. "Where have you got to again, my good Sir, thrusting the Stoa in here, and quietly slipping into our discussion their 'Conflagrations' and 'Exhalations'? Thessalian women fetch the sun and the moon down to us, but you are assuming that they are first born and then watered out of earth and its waters. Plato dubbed man a 'heavenly plant', 5 rearing himself up from a root on high, namely his head; but you laugh down Empedocles when he tells us how the sun, having been brought into being by reflection of heavenly light around the earth,
2735 ἀνταυγεῖν πρὸς Ὀλυμπον ἀταρβήτοισι προσώποις
Beams back upon Olympus undismayed!

Yet, on your own showing, the sun is a creature or plant of the marshes, naturalized by you in the country of frogs or water-snakes. However, all this may be reserved for the Stoics and their tragedies; here we have the incidental works of the artists, and let us examine them incidentally. In many respects they are clever people, but they

2740

- 2745 have not in all cases avoided coldness and elaboration. Just as the man who designed Apollo with the cock in his hand meant to suggest the early morning hour when dawn is coming, so here the frogs may be taken for a symbol of the spring season when the sun begins to have power over the air and to break up winter; always supposing that, with you, we are to reckon Apollo and the sun one God, not two."
- Serap. "What? do you not agree? do you hold the sun to be different from Apollo?"
- Phil. "As different as the moon from the sun; only she does not hide the sun often or from all the world, whereas the sun has made, we may almost say, all the world
- 2750 ignorant of Apollo, diverting thought by sensation, to the apparition from the real."
- XIII. Next Serapion asked the guide the real reason why they call the chamber not after Cypselus, the Dedicator, but after the Corinthians. When they were silent, being, as I privately believe, at a loss for reason, I laughed, and said
- 2755 "What can these men possibly know or remember, utterly dazed as they must be by our high celestial talk? Why, it was only just now that we heard them saying that, after the tyranny was overthrown, the Corinthians wished to inscribe the golden statue at Pisa, and also this treasure-house, with the name of the city. So the Delphians granted it as a right, and agreed; but the Corinthians passed a vote to exclude the Eleians, who had shown jealousy of them, from the Isthmian meetings, and from that
- 2760 time to this there has been no competitor from Elis. The murder of the Molionidæ by Hercules near Cleonæ has nothing to do with the exclusion of the Eleians, though some think that it has. On the contrary, it would have been for them to exclude the Corinthians if that had been the cause of the conflict." Such were my remarks.
- XIV. When we passed the chamber of the Acanthians and Brasidas,
- 2765 the guide showed us a place where iron obelisks to Rhodopis the courtesan once used to stand. Diogenianus showed annoyance.
- Diog. "So it was felt to be the duty of the same state both to find a place for Rhodopis to deposit the tithes of her earnings and to put Aesop, her fellow slave, to death!"
- 2770 Serap. "Bless you, friend; why so vexed at that? Carry your eyes upwards, and behold among the generals and kings the golden Mnesarete, which Crates called a standing trophy of the lewdness of the Greeks."
- Diog. "Was it then about Phryne that Crates said that?"
- Serap. "Yes it was; her name was Mnesarete, but she took on that of Phryne [toad] as
- 2775 a nickname because of her yellow skin. Many names, it would seem, are concealed by nicknames. There was Polyxena, mother of Alexander, afterwards said to have been called Myrtale and Olympias and Stratonice. Then Eumetis of Rhodes is to this day called by most people Cleobuline, after her father; and Herophile of Erythræ, when she showed a prophetic gift, was addressed as Sibylla. You will hear the grammarians
- 2780 telling us that Leda was named Mnesinoe, and Orestes Achæus. But how do you propose," he continued, looking hard at Theon, "to get rid of the charge as to Phryne?"
- XV. Theon smiled quietly: "In this way: a counter-charge against you for raking up the pettiest of the Greek misdoings. For as Socrates, 6 when entertained in the house of Callias, makes war upon the ointment only, but looks on
- 2785 all the dancing and tumbling and kisses and buffoonery, and holds his tongue, so you, it seems to me, want to exclude from the temple a poor woman who made an unworthy use of her charms; but when you see the God encompassed by first-fruits and tithes of murder, war, and rapine, and his temple loaded with Greek spoils and booty, you show no disgust; you have no pity for the Greeks when you read on the beautiful offerings
- 2790 such deeply disgraceful inscriptions as 'Brasidas and the Acanthians from the Athenians', 'Athenians from Corinthians', 'Phocians from Thessalians', 'Orneatans from Sicyonians', and 'Amphictyones from Phocians'. So Praxiteles, it seems, was one person who offended Crates by finding room for his mistress to stand here, whereas Crates ought to have commended him for placing beside those golden kings a golden
- 2795 courtesan, a strong rebuke to wealth as having nothing wonderful or worshipful about it. It would be good if kings and rulers were to set up in the God's house offerings to Justice, to Temperance and Magnanimity, not to golden and delicate Abundance, in which even the very foulest lives have their share."
- XVI. "You forget to mention," said one of our guides, "how Cræsus had
- 2800 sculpted a golden figure of his baker-woman and dedicated it here."
- Theon "Yes; but that was not to flout the temple with his luxury of wealth, but for a good and righteous cause. The story 7 is that Alyattes, father of Cræsus, married a second wife and brought up a second family. This woman fomented a plot against
- 2805 Cræsus, giving poison to the baker and telling her to knead a loaf with it and serve it to Cræsus. The baker told Cræsus in secret and set the loaf before the second wife's children. And so, when Cræsus became king, he requited the baker-woman's

- service in away which made the God a witness, and moreover did a good turn to him. Hence, it is quite proper to honour and love any such offering from cities as that from the Opuntians. When the Phocian tyrants had melted up many of the gold and
2810 silver offerings and struck coined money, which they distributed among the cities, the Opuntians collected all the silver they could find, and sent a large jar to be consecrated here to the God. I commend the Myrinæans also, and the Apollonians, who sent hither sheaves of gold, and even more highly the Eretrians and Magnesians, who endowed the God with firstfruits of men, as being the giver of crops and also
2815 ancestral, the god of their fathers; racial, the creator of men; and the friend of man. Whereas I blame the Megarians, because they were almost alone in setting up the God holding a lance; this was after the battle in which they defeated and expelled the Athenians who were holding their city, after the Persian wars. Later on, however, they offered to him a golden plectrum, referring it, as it appears, to Scythinus, who
2820 says of the lyre:
ἦν ἁρμόζεται
Ζηνὸς εὐειδῆς Ἀπόλλων, πᾶσαν ἀρχὴν καὶ τέλος
συλλαβῶν: ἔχει δὲ παμπὸν πληκτικὸν ἡλίου φάος
which the son of Zeus
2825 Wears, the comely God Apollo, gathering first and last in one,
And he holds a golden harp-quill flashing as the very sun.
- XVII. Serapion wanted to put in some further remark on this, when the stranger said: Dion. "It is delightful to listen to such speeches as we have heard, but I feel myself obliged to claim fulfillment of the original promise, that we should hear the
2830 cause which has made the Pythia cease to prophesy in epic or other verse. So, if it be your pleasure, let us leave to another time the remainder of the sights, sit down where we are, and hear about that. For it is this more than anything else which militates against the credibility of the oracle; for it must be one of two things: either the Pythia does not get near the spot where the Divinity is, or the current is
2835 altogether exhausted, and the power has failed." Accordingly we went round and seated ourselves on the southern plinth of the temple, in view of the temple of Earth and the spring of water, which made Boethus at once observe that the very place where the problem was raised lent itself to the stranger's case. For here was a temple of the Muses where the exhalation rises from
2840 the fountain; from which fountain they drew the water used for the lustrations, as Simonides has it:
ἐνθα χερύβεσσιν ἀπύνεται τὸ Μουσᾶν
καλλικόμοων ὑπένρθεν ἄγνὸν ὕδωρ.
Whence is drawn for holy washings
2845 Water of the Muses bright.
And again, in a rather more affected strain, the same poet addresses Clio:
ἄγνᾶν ἐπίσκοπον χερνίβων,
Chaste guardian of our lustrations
and goes on to say
2850 πολὺλίστιον ἀρυόντεσσιν
ἀχρυσόπεπλον ...
εὐῶδες ἀμβροσίων ἐκ μυχῶν
ἐρανὸν ὕδωρ λαβεῖν.
Goddess sought in many a vow
2855 By no golden robe encumbered, hear thy servants drawing now
Water, fragrant and delightful, from ambrosial depths below.
So Eudoxus was wrong in believing those who have made out that this was called 'Water of Styx'. But they installed the Muses as guardians of prophecy and wardens of the place, by the fountain and the temple of Earth where the oracle used to be, some say,
2860 because the responses were given in metre and in lyric strains. And some say further that here the heroic metre was first heard:
συνφέρετε πρὲρ ἄντ', οἴωνοις, κηρόη τε, μέλισσαι.
Bring in your feathers, ye birds; ye bees, bring wax at his bidding.
Later Earth became inferior to the God and lost her august position. 8
- XVIII. Serapion responded, "More reasonable, that, Boethus, and more
2865 in tune with the Muses. For we ought not to fight against the God, nor to remove, along with his prophecy, his Providence and Godhead also, but rather to seek fresh solutions for apparent contradictions, and never to surrender the reverent belief of our fathers."
2870 Phil. "Excellent Serapion! you are right. We are not abandoning Philosophy, as cleared out of the way and done for, because once upon a time philosophers put out their dogmas and theories in verse, as Orpheus, Hesiod, Parmenides, Empedocles, Thales, whereas later on they gave it up, and have now all given it up – except you!

2875 In your hands Poetry is returning home to Philosophy, and clear and noble is the strain in which she rallies our young people. Astronomy again: she was not lowered in the hands of Aristarchus, Timocharis, Aristyllus, Hipparchus, all writing in prose, whereas Eudoxus, Hesiod, and Thales used metre, if we assume that Thales really wrote the Astronomy attributed to him. And Pindar himself confesses that he is quite at a loss about the neglect of verse in his own day, and is astonished 9 It is 2880 neither out of the way nor absurd for us to seek out the causes of such changes; but to dismiss any of the arts and sciences altogether, because there is some alteration or variation in their details or delivery, is totally unfair."

XIX. Theon "And yet those instances have involved really great variations and novelties, whereas of the oracles given here we know many in prose even in old 2885 days, and those on no trifling matters. When the Lacedæmonians consulted the God after their war with the Athenians, as Thucydides tells us, 10 he promised them victory and mastery, and that "he himself will help them, invited or uninvited". And again, that if they did not restore Pleistonax, they should plough with a silver share. 11 When the Athenians consulted the God about their expedition in Sicily, he 2890 directed them to bring the priestess of Erythræ to Athens; now the woman's name was 'Quiet'. When Deinomenes of Sicily inquired about his sons, the answer was that all three should reign as tyrants. 'And the worse for them,' rejoined Deinomenes. 'That too,' added the God, and added it to the response. You know that Gelo had the dropsy and Hiero the stone, while they reigned; Thrasybulus, the third son, was involved in 2895 revolutions and wars and soon lost his throne. Then Procles, tyrant of Epidaurus, after putting many others to death in cruel and unlawful ways, at last killed Timarchus, who had come to him from Athens with money, after receiving him with hospitality and kindness; he thrust his body into a basket and threw it into the sea. This he did by the hands of Cleander of Aegina, and no one else knew about it. 2900 Afterwards, when he was in sore trouble, he sent his brother Cleotimus to consult the oracle secretly about his own flight and retirement to another land. The God answered that he granted exile to Procles, and retirement either to the place where he had ordered his Aeginetan friend to lodge the basket, or to where the stag sheds his horn. The tyrant understood the God to bid him fling himself into the sea, or to buy 2905 himself underground (for the stag buries his horn deep out of sight when it falls off). He waited a short time, but when his affairs became desperate he sought exile. But the friends of Timarchus caught him and slew him, casting the corpse into the sea.

"Now comes the strongest instance: the statutes by which Lycurgus regulated the 2910 Lacedæmonian constitution were given to him in prose. So Alyrius, Herodotus, Philochorus, and Ister, the men who most zealously set about collecting metrical prophecies, have written down oracular responses which were not in metre; and Theopompus, who was exceptionally interested in the oracle, administered a vigorous rebuke to those who held that the Pythia did not prophesy in metre in those days; 2915 yet, when he wanted to prove the point, he found an exceedingly small number of such answers, which shows that the others, even at that early time, were put forth in prose.

XX. "Some oracles, however, still give their answers in metre; and one 2920 of them has become famous. There is in Phocis a temple of Hercules Woman-Hater, where the practice is for the consecrated priest not to associate with a woman during his year of office. So they appoint comparatively old men to the priesthood. However, not very long ago, the office was accepted by a young man of good character, but ambitious, and in love with a young woman. At first he restrained himself and avoided her; but one day, when he was resting after wine and dancing, she burst in and he 2925 yielded. Then, in his fear and confusion, he fled to the oracle, and proceeded to ask the God about his offence, and whether it admitted of excuse or expiation. He received his reply:

ἅπαντα ἀναγκαῖα συγχωρεῖ θεός.
All needful business doth the God allow.

2930 All the same, if it be granted that nothing is prophesied in our own day, otherwise than in metre, the difficulty will be so much greater about the ancients, who sometimes employed metre for the responses, sometimes not. There is nothing strange, my young friend, in either one or the other, so long as we hold sound, pure views about the God, and do not suppose that it is himself who formerly used to compose the 2935 verses, or who now speaks through the Pythia, giving answers as it were through a mask.

XXI. "However, it is worth our while to pursue this inquiry at greater length another time. For the present, let us remember our results, which are briefly these: Body uses many instruments, soul uses body and parts, soul has been brought into

- 2940 being as the instrument of God. The excellence of an instrument is to imitate most closely the power which uses it, with all its own natural power, and to reproduce the effect of his essential thought, but to exhibit it, not pure and passionless and free from error, as it was in the creative artist, but with a large admixture of foreign element. For in itself it is invisible to us, but appearing 'other' and through
- 2945 another medium it is saturated with the nature of that medium. I pass over wax and gold and silver and copper, and all other varieties of moulded substance, which take on one common form of impressed likeness, but add to the copy each its distinct specialty. I pass over the myriad distortions of images and reflections from a single form in mirrors, plane, hollow, or convex. For nothing seems better to reproduce the
- 2950 type, no instrument more obediently to use its own nature, than the moon. Yet taking from the sun his bright and fiery rays, she does not transmit them so to us: mingled with herself they change colour and also take on a different power; the heat wholly disappeared, and the light fails from weakness before it reaches us. I think you know the saying found in Heraclitus, that 'the sovereign whose seat is at Delphi, speaks not, nor conceals, but signifies'. Take and add then to what is here so well said, the conception that the God of this place employs the Pythia for the hearing as the sun employs the moon for the seeing. He shows and reveals his own thoughts, but shows them mingled in their passage through a mortal body, and a soul which cannot remain at rest or present itself to the exciting power unexcited and inwardly composed, but
- 2960 which boils and surges and is involved in the stirrings and troublesome passions from within. As whirlpools do not keep a steady hold on bodies borne round and round, and also downwards, since an outer force carries them round, but they sink down of their own nature, so that there is a compound spiral movement, of a confused and distorted kind, even so what we call inspiration seems to be a mixture of two impulses, and the
- 2965 soul is stirred by two forces, one of which it is a passive recipient, one from its own nature. We see that inanimate and stationary bodies cannot be used or forced contrary to their own nature, that a cylinder cannot be moved as if it were a sphere or a cube, that a lyre cannot be played like a flute or a trumpet like a harp, but that the artistic use of a thing is no other than the natural use. Is it possible, then, that the animate and self-moving, which has both impulse and reason, can be treated in any other way than is agreeable to the habit, force or natural condition which is already existent within it? Can an unmusical mind be excited like a musical, or an unlettered mind be moved by literature, a mind untrained in reasoning, whether speculative or disciplinary, by logic? It is not to be spoken of.
- 2975 XXII. "Again, Homer is my witness: he assumes 12 that nothing, so to speak, is brought about without a God; he does not, however, describe the God as using all things for all ends, but according to the art or faculty which each possesses. For do you not see, dear Diogenianus, that Athena, when she wants to persuade the Achæans, calls in Odysseus; 13 when to wreck th truce, she looks for Pandarus; 14 when to rout
- 2980 the Trojans, she approaches Diomedes? 15 Why? because Diomedes is a sturdy man and a fighter, Pandarus an archer and a food, Odysseus a clever speaker and a sensible man. For Homer was not of the same mind as Pindar, 16 if it was Pindar who wrote Sail on a crate, if God so choose 'twill swim. He knew that different faculties and natural gifts are appointed for different ends; each is moved in its own way, even if the moving force be one for all. As then the
- 2985 force cannot move that which walks so as to make it fly, nor that which lisps to speak clearly, nor the thin voice to be melodious – why, Battus himself was sent as colonist of Libya to get his voice, because he lisped and had a thin voice, but withal was a kingly, statesmanlike, prudent man – even so, it is impossible for one
- 2990 who has no letters and knows no verse to talk like a poet. And so she who now serves the God has been born as respectably as any man here, and has lived as good and orderly a life; but having been reared in the house of small farmer folk, she brings nothing with her from art or from practice or faculty whatsoever, as she goes down into the sanctuary. As Xenophon thinks that the bride should step into her husband's
- 2995 home having seen as little as may be, and heard as little, so she, ignorant and untried in almost all things, and a true virgin in soul, is associated with the God. Yet we, who think that the God, when he 'signifies', uses the cries of herons and wrens and ravens, and never ask that they, as the messengers and heralds of the God, should put things into clear rational phrases, do nevertheless ask that the Pythia
- 3000 should use a voice and style as though from the Thymele, not unembellished and plain, but with metre and elevation, and trills, and verbal metaphors, and a flute accompaniment!
- XXIII. "What shall we say then about her older predecessors? Not one thing, I think, but several. In the first place, as has been already said, they, too, for
- 3005 the most part, used to give the responses in prose. In the second place, those times produced temperaments and natural conditions which offered an easy and convenient

- channel for the stream of poetry, to which were at once superadded, in one and another, an eagerness, an impulse, a preparation of soul, all resulting in a readiness which needed but a slight initial movement from without to give the imagination a turn. So it was that not only were astronomers and philosophers drawn, as Philinus says, in their several directions, but also, when men were mellow with wine and sentiment, some undercurrent of pity or joy would come, and they would glide into a song-like voice; drinking parties were filled with amorous strains and songs, books with poems in writing. When Euripides wrote 17:
- 3010 ποιητὴν ἄρα
ἔρως διδάσκει, κἂν ἄμουσος ᾖ τὸ πρίν
Love can teach, he makes
A poet of a stranger to the Muse.
he did not mean that Love implants a faculty for poetry or music; the faculty is
- 3020 there already, but Love stirs and warms what was latent and idle. Or are we to say, Sir Stranger, that no one now loves, that Love has gone by the heels, because there is no who, to quote Pindar, 18
ρίμφα παιδείους
τοξεύει μελιγάρυας ὕμνους
3025 Scatters with easy grace
The vocal shafts of love and joy?
- That is absurd. Loves there are and many of them, and they master men; but when they associate with souls which have no natural turn for music, they drop the flute and the lyre, yet are vocal still and fiery through and through, as much as of old. It is
- 3030 an unhallowed thing to say, and an unfair, that the Academy was loveless, or the choir of Socrates and Plato; yet, while we have their love dialogues to read, they have left no poems. Why not declare at once that Sappho was the only woman who ever loved, if you are to say that Sibylla alone had the gift of prophecy, or Aristonica, and the others who delivered themselves in verse? As Chæremon used to say,
- 3035 ὁ μὲν γὰρ οἶνος τοῖς τρόποις κεράννυται
Wine mingles with the moods of them that drink,
and the prophetic inspiration, like that of love, uses the faculty which is subjected to it, and stirs its recipients according to the nature of each.
- XXIV. "Not but that, if we look also into the subject of the God and his
- 3040 foreknowledge, we shall see that the change has taken place for the better. For the use of language is like exchange in coined money. Here also it is familiarity which gives currency, the purchasing power varies with the times. There was a day when metres, tunes, odes were the coins of language in us; all History and Philosophy, in a word, every feeling and action which called for a more solemn utterance, were drawn
- 3045 to poetry and music. It is not only that now but few understand, and they with effort, whereas then all the world were listeners, and all felt pleasure in what was sung,
μηλοβόται τ' ἄρόται τ' ὀρνιχολόχοι τε
who feds his flock
3050 Who ploughs the soil, who snares the winged game,
as Pindar 19 has it. More than that, there was an aptitude for poetry, most men used the lyre and the ode to rebuke, to encourage, to frame myths and proverbs; also hymns to the Gods, prayers, thanksgivings, were composed in metre and song, as genius or practice enabled them to do. And so it was with prophecy; the God did not grudge it
- 3055 ornament and grace, or drive from hence into disgrace the honoured Muse of the tripod; he rather led her on, awakening and welcoming poetic natures; he gave them visions from himself, he lent his aid to draw out pomp and eloquence as being fitting and admirable things. Then there was a change in human life, affecting men both in fortune and in genius. Expediency banished what was superfluous, top-knots of gold
- 3060 were dropped, rich robes discarded; probably too clustering curls were shorn off, and the buskin discontinued. It was not a bad training, to set the beauty of frugality against that of profusion, to account what was plain and simple, a better ornament than the pompous and elaborate. So it was with language: it changed with the times, and shared the general break-up. History got down from its coach, and dropped metre.
- 3065 Truth was best sifted out from Myth in prose; Philosophy welcomed clearness, and found it better to instruct than to astonish, so she pursued her inquiry in plain language. The God made the Pythia leave off calling her own fellow townsmen 'fire-burners', the Spartans 'serpent-eaters', men 'mountaineers', rivers 'mountain-drainers'. He cleared the oracle of epic verses, unusual words, circumlocutions, and
- 3070 vagueness, and so prepared the way to converse with his consultants just as law converse with states, as kings address subjects, as disciples hear their masters speak, so framing language as to be intelligible and convincing.

XXV. "For it should be clearly understood that the God is, in the words of Sophocles,
 3075 σοφοῖς μὲν αἰνικτιῆρα θεσφάτων ἀεί,
 σκαιοῖς δὲ φαῦλον κἄν βραχεῖ διδάσκαλον
 Unto the wise a riddling prophet aye,
 to silly souls a teacher plain and brief.

The same turn of things which brought clearness brought also a new standard of
 3080 belief; it shared the general change. Whereas of old that which was not familiar or
 common, but, in plain words, contorted and over-phrased, was ascribed by the many to
 an implied Divinity, and received with awe and reverence; in later times men were
 content to learn things clearly and easily with no pomp or artifice; they began to
 3085 find fault with the poetical setting of the oracles, not only as a hindrance to the
 perception of truth, because it mingled indistinctions and shadow with the meaning,
 but also because by this time they were getting to mistrust metaphors, riddles, and
 ambiguities, as so many holes or hiding-places provided for him who should trip in
 his prophecy, that he might step into them and secure his retreat. You might have
 heard it told by many, how certain persons with a turn for poetry still sit about the
 3090 place of oracles, waiting to catch the utterances, and then weaving verses, metres,
 rhythms, according to occasion, as a sort of vehicle. As to your Onomacrituses, and
 Herodotuses, and Cinæthons, and the censures which they brought upon the oracles, by
 importing tragedy and pomp where they were out of place, I let the charge pass and
 won't join in the attack on them. Most, however, of the discredit which attached so
 3095 copiously to poetry came from the gang of soothsayers and scamps who strolled around
 the ceremonies of the Great Mother and of Serapis, with their mummeries and tricks,
 turning verses out of their own heads, or taking them at random from handbooks, for
 servant boys and silly girls, and such as are best attracted by metre and a poetic
 cast of words; from all which causes poetry seemed to put herself at the service of
 cheats and jugglers and lying prophets, and was lost to truth and to the tripod.

XXVI. "Thus I should not be surprised to find that the old people
 3100 sometimes required a certain ambiguity, circumlocution, indistinctness. For it was
 not then a case of 'A' approaching the oracle with a question, if you please, about
 the purchase of a slave, or 'B' about business; powerful states, haughty kings and
 tyrants would consult the God on public affairs, men whom it did not answer the
 3105 officials of his temple to vex and provoke by letting them hear what they did not
 wish to hear. For the God does not obey Euripides, 20 who sets up as a lawgiver with
 φοῖβον ἀνθρώποις μόνον
 χρῆν θεσπιῶδεῖν
 3110 Phoebus, none but he,
 May give men prophecies.
 He uses mortal men as ministers and prophets, whom it is his duty to make his care,
 and to protect, lest they perish at the hands of the bad while serving him. He does
 not then choose to conceal the truth; what he used to do was to give a twist to its
 3115 manifestation, which, like a beam of light, is refracted more than once in its
 passage, and is parted into many rays as it becomes poetry, and so to remove whatever
 in it was harsh and hard. Tyrants might thus be left in ignorance, and enemies not
 forewarned. For them he threw a veil in the innuendoes and ambiguities which hid the
 meaning from others, but he did not elude the intelligence of the actual consultants
 who gave their whole mind to the answers. Hence, now that things have changed, it is
 3120 sheer folly to criticize and find fault with the God because he thinks right to give
 his aid no longer in the same manner but in another.

XXVII. "Another thing is this: Language receives no greater advantage
 3125 from a poetical form than this, that a meaning which is wrapped and bound in metre is
 more easily remembered and grasped. Now in those days much memory was required. Many
 things used to be explained orally; local indications, the times when things were to
 be done, rites of Gods across the seas, secret burying-places of heroes, hard to be
 discovered by those setting off for lands far from Greece. You know about Chius and
 Cretinus, and Nesichus, and Phalanthus, and many other leaders of expeditions, how
 many clues they needed to find the proper place appointed to each for settlement,
 3130 while some of them missed the way, as did Battus. 21 He thought that he would be
 turned out, not understanding what the place was to which he had been sent; then he
 came a second time loudly complaining. Then the God answered:
 αἶ τὸ ἐμεῦ Λιβύαν μαλοτρόφον οἴσθας ἄρειον,
 μὴ ἐλθὼν ἐλθόντος, ἄγαν ἀγαμαι σοφίην σευ
 3135 Thou that hast never been there, if thou know'st Libya the sheepland
 Better than I that have been, then wonderful wise is thy wisdom.
 And thus he sent him out again.
 Then Lysander 22 entirely failed to make out the hill Orchalides, otherwise called

- 3140 Alopecus, and the river Hoplites,
γῆς τε δράκονθ' ὑἷὸν δόλιον κατόπισθεν ἰόντα
Also the dragon, earthborn, in craftiness coming behind thee.
and was defeated in battle and slain in those very spots by Neochorus, a man of
Haliartus, who bore on his shield the device of a serpent. There are many such
3145 answers given to the old people, all hard to grasp and remember, which I need not
give you at length, since you know them.
- XXVIII. "Our present settled condition, out of which the questions now put
to the God arise, I welcome and accept. There is great peace and tranquility, war has
been made to cease, there are no wanderings in exile, no revolutions, no tyrannies,
no other plagues or ills in Greece asking for potent and extraordinary remedies. But
3150 when there is nothing complicated or mysterious, or dangerous, only questions on
petty popular matters, like school themes, 'whether I should marry', 'whether I
should sail', 'whether I should lend', and the most serious responses given to states
concern harvests and cattle-breeding and public health; in such circumstances, to
clothe the answers in metre, or to devise circumlocutions, to introduce strange words
3155 on questions calling for a plain, concise answer, is what an ambitions sophist might
do, bedizening the oracle for his glory. But the Pythia is a lady in herself, and
when she descends thither and is in the presence of the God, she cares for truth
rather than for glory, or for the praise or blame of men.
- XXIX. "So perhaps ought we too to feel. As it is, in a sort of agony of fear,
3160 lest the place should lose its reputation of three thousand years, and a few persons
should think lightly of it and cease to visit the oracle, for all the world as if it
were a sophist's school, we apologize, and make up reasons and theories about things
which we neither know now ought to know. We smooth the critic down, and try to
persuade him, whereas we ought to bid him be gone –
3165 αὐτῷ γὰρ οἱ πρῶτον ἀνιηρότερον ἔσται
He shall first suffer in a loss not light 23 –
if that is the view which he takes of the God; for if we welcome and admire what the
Wise Men of old days have written up: 'Know Thyself' and 'Nothing too much', not
least because of the brevity which includes in a small compass a close hammer-beaten
3170 sense, we cannot blame the oracles because they mostly use concise, plain, direct
phrases. It is with sayings like those of the Wise Men as with streams compressed
into a narrow channel; there is no distinctness or transparency to the eye of the
mind, but if you look into what has been written or said about them ;by those who
have wished to learn the full meaning of each, you will not easily find longer
3175 treaties elsewhere. The language of the Pythia illustrates what mathematicians mean
by calling a straight line the shortest between the same points; it makes no bending,
or curve, or doubling or ambiguity; it lies straight towards truth; it takes risks,
its good faith is open to examination, and it has never yet been found wrong; it has
filled the shrine with offerings from Barbarians and Greeks, and has beautified it
3180 with noble buildings and Amphictyonic fittings. Why, you see for yourselves many
buildings added which were not here formerly, many restored which were ruinous or
destroyed. As new trees spring up by the side of those in vigorous bearing, so the
Pylæa flourishes together with Delphi and is fed upon the same meat; the plenty of
the one causes the other to take on shapeliness and figure and a beauty of temples,
3185 and halls of meeting and fountains of water, such as it never had in the thousand
years before. Now those who dwell about Galaxius in Boeotia felt the manifest
presence of the God in the abundance and more than abundance of milk:
προβάτων γὰρ ἐκ πάντων κελάρυξεν,
ὥς ἀπὸ κρηνᾶν φέρτατον ὕδωρ,
3190 θηλᾶν γάλα· τοῖ δ' ἐπίμπλεν ἑσσύμενοι πίθους·
ἀσκόδς δ' οὐδέ τις ἀμφορεύς ἐλίνυσεν δόμοις,
πέλλαι γὰρ ξύλιναι πίθοι τε πλησθεν ἅπαντες·
From all the kine and every flock,
Plenteous as water from the rock,
3195 Came welling, gurgling on its way
The milk that day.
Hot foot they hied them to the task,
To fill the pail, to fill the cask;
No pot or pan had holiday;
3200 Wine-skin or flagon, none might stay
Within, that day.
But to us he gives tokens bright and stronger and more evident than these, in having,
after the days of drought, of desertion and poverty, brought us plenty, splendour,
and reputation. True, I am well pleased with myself for anything which my own zeal or
3205 service may have contributed to this result in support of Polycrates and Petraeus,

well pleased too with him who has been our leader in this policy, to whose thought and planning most of the improvements are due; but it is wholly impossible that so great, so vast a change could have been effected in this short time by merely human care, with no God present here or lending his Divinity to the place of the oracle.

3210 XXX. "But as in those days there were some who found fault with the responses for obliquity and want of clearness, so now there are those who criticize them as too simple, which is childishness indeed and rank stupidity! For as children show more glee and satisfaction at the sight of rainbows or haloes or comets than in that of the sun or of the moon, so do these people regret the riddles, allegories, and
3215 metaphors which are so many modes of refraction of prophetic art in a mortal and fanciful medium. And if they do not fully inquire into the cause of the change, they go away having passed judgement against the God, rather than against ourselves or themselves, for having a power of thought which is too feeble to attain to his counsels."

3220 NOTES

* Note that the English translation of this passage at Perseus is misnumbered; the translation of line 107 in fact occurs on the previous page and not on the page that says it begins with 1. 107.

1. Alluding to the eruption of Vesuvius in 79. "Dicæarchia" = Puteoli.
- 3225 2. Euripides; as quoted by Plutarch himself in "De defectu oraculorum", μόνις δ' ἀριστος ὅστις εἰκάξει καλῶς
3. Quoted also in Life of Agesilaus, c.3 (597c).
4. Palæa Kaumene, a volcanic island ejected in 196 BC
5. Tim. 90.
- 3230 6. Xen. Sympos. c.2.3.
7. Herod. 1.51.
8. This passage from the Loeb edition. The text is defective at this point; Prickard reads "The God was in need, and dignity was waived"; King "... [On its] becoming necessary to the god ... to cast away his gravity."
- 3235 9. The text is defective at this point, and we unfortunately do not know the cause of Pindar's astonishment.
10. Thucydides I, 118.
11. Ibid. V, 16 (from which words have been supplied in the defective text of Plutarch, which additionally reads "Pausanias" for "Pleistonax"). "Silver share" turned out to mean that their crops would be inadequate and they would have to buy grain.
- 3240 12. Od. 2.372.
13. Il. 2.169.
14. Il. 4.86.
15. Il. 5.1.
- 3245 16. The MSS. have "Pandarus". Plutarch probably did not suppose Pindar was the author of the line. It is quoted by Aristophanes, Peace 699, in connexion with the stinginess of Sophocles or Simonides, and the scholiast quotes from Pindar a censure of that vice in poets; so some confusion is possible.
17. In the Stheneboea.
- 3250 18. Isthm. 2.3.
19. Isthm. 1.69.
20. Phoen. 958.
21. Herod. 4.155; Pindar Pyth. 4.
22. See Lysander 450B-C
- 3255 23. Od. 2.190.

Note on the text: This text follows the translation of Prickard (1918) with occasional departures where I felt his English was too quirky or ugly or where it departs substantially from other translations I felt to be more acceptable. (You may judge from what is left exactly how quirky and ugly his translation is at times.) The
3260 text covers pages 394d to 409e; page numbers are accessible via local links in the html (for instance, "plutarchVerses.html#395f" will take you [approximately] to the appropriate passage). Chapter numbers I-XXX are similarly linked (e.g., "plutarchVerses.html#XXV"). The Greek, where supplied, is mostly from the Loeb edition.

3265 STUDIES OF THE DELPHIAN TREASURES (1)

- | | | | |
|----------|----------|-----------|---|
| BCH_45.1 | 237934 | Inscr_162 | Catalogue of the theorodokoi of Delphi (230-210) |
| CID_4.11 | 303196 | Inscr_37 | Letter of Adeimantos to Demetrios (302) |
| CID_4.25 | 303210 | Syll_418 | The Amphictyons honour Sokrates and Alexeinides (272-270) |
| CID_4.27 | 303212 | Syll_419 | The Amphictyons honour Eudoxos of Argos (270) |
| 3270 | CID_4.28 | 303213 | Syll_482 Delphi honours the hieromnemones (269/8) |
| | CID_4.33 | 303218 | Syll_483 Delphi honours the hieromnemones (c. 264/3) |
| | CID_4.33 | 303218 | Syll_484 A decree of the Aetolians concerning the hieromnemones (264) |
| | CID_4.35 | 303220 | Syll_488 The Amphictyons honour Aristarchos of Kamarina (c. 263/2) |
| | CID_4.36 | 303221 | Inscr_94.B The Amphictyons honour the hieromnemones during a war |

3275	(266)		
	CID_4.43	303228 Syll_498	The Amphictyons honour Achaiion and Antagoras (260/59)
	CID_4.49	303234 Syll_431	The Amphictyons honour Menalkes of Athens (255/4 or 252/1)
	CID_4.52	303237 Syll_436	The Amphictyons honour Hereas of Lamia (254/3 or 250/49)
	CID_4.54	303239 Syll_422	The Amphictyons honour Mentor of Naupaktos (252/1 or 249)
3280	CID_4.66	303251 Syll_499	The Amphictyons honour Antagoras (c. 233/2)
	CID_4.85	303270 Syll_523	A decree of the Amphictyons concerning the portico of Attalos (c. 220)
	CID_4.101	303286 Syll_603	The Amphictyons honour Pixodaros of Mylasa (193)
	CID_4.106	303291 Syll_613	The Amphictyons honour Nikostratos of Larisa (184/3)
3285	CID_4.108	303294 Syll_636	Decree of the Amphictyons concerning sacred lands (178)
	CID_4.110	303296 Syll_668	Decree of Kytenion concerning votes in the Amphictyonic Council (c. 161/0)
	CID_4.127	303323 Austin_125G	A decree of the Amphictyons concerning the Athenian tetradrachm (c. 140-130)
3290	FD_3.1.38	238618 Syll_516	Delphi confirms the rights of the descendants of Dromeus (c. 222)
	FD_3.1.47	238627 Syll_625	An equestrian statue of Philopoimen at Delphi (183)
	FD_3.1.48	238628 Syll_659	Delphi honours Nikon of Megalopolis (c. 165/4)
	FD_3.1.49	238629 Syll_660	Delphi honours Thrason and Sokrates of Aigeira (c. 161/0)
3295	FD_3.1.54	238635 Syll_517	Delphi honours Alkidamas of Ephesos (315-280)
	FD_3.1.68	238650 Syll_407	The Tyritai make a dedication at Delphi (276/5)
	FD_3.1.86	238670 Syll_477	Delphi honours Damagetos of Amphiloichian Argos (315-280)
	FD_3.1.87	238672 Syll_405	The Amphictyons honour Neon of Argos (277)
	FD_3.1.88	238673 Syll_406	The Amphictyons honour four men from Argos (276/5)
3300	FD_3.1.96	238681 Syll_309	Delphi honours Telemachos of Thespiiai (318-306)
	FD_3.1.121	238710 Syll_478	Delphi honours Dynatos and Argeios of Ephesos (315-280)
	FD_3.1.146	238739 Syll_383	Delphi honours various Aetolians (c. 283 and 281)
	FD_3.1.181	238775 Syll_378	Delphi honours Timon of Megara (c. 300)
	FD_3.1.195	238791 Syll_440	Delphi honours Timomachos of Aigina (265/4)
3305	FD_3.1.218	238823 Syll_653	Honours granted to Kassandros of Alexandria Troas (c. 165)
	FD_3.1.299	238936 OGIS_66	Delphi honours Sostratos of Knidos (c. 290-280)
	FD_3.1.351	238992 Inscr_115	Decree of the Amphictyons concerning a festival at Thebes (230-225)
3310	FD_3.1.358	239005 Inscr_78	Delphi agrees to maintain a house for Theban envoys (c. 219/8)
	FD_3.1.359	239006 Syll_503	Delphi honours Hypatodoros of Thebes (c. 228)
	FD_3.1.408	239063 Syll_308	Delphi honours Epiteles of Athens (323-312)
	FD_3.1.429	239088 Syll_377	Delphi honours Neanthes and Polykles of Kyzikos (c. 300)
3315	FD_3.1.432	239091 Austin_227G	Delphi honours Philetairos and his family (282-262)
	FD_3.1.451	239112 Inscr_95	Delphi honours Satyros of Agrinion (200/199)
	FD_3.1.453	239114 Syll_439	Delphi honours Pairisades, king of Bosphoros (c. 170)
	FD_3.1.513	239201 Syll_376	A statue of Philostratos of Kyzikos at Delphi (c. 300)
	FD_3.1.526	239215 Sherk_52G	A statue of M. Minucius Rufus at Delphi (110-106)
3320	FD_3.1.575	239275 Syll_511	Names of Aetolian women on a monument at Delphi (270-230)
	FD_3.2.18	239300 Syll_541	Delphi honours the citizens of Tetrapolis in Attica (240)
	FD_3.2.19	239301 Syll_541	Delphi honours the citizens of Tetrapolis in Attica (240)
	FD_3.2.20	239302 Syll_637	Delphi honours the citizens of Tetrapolis (178)
	FD_3.2.72	239361 Syll_395	Delphi honours Glaukon of Athens (c. 271/0)
3325	FD_3.2.75	239364 Syll_448	Delphi honours Kleandros of Kolophon (c. 240-210)
	FD_3.2.78	239367 Syll_450	Delphi honours Kleochares of Athens (c. 230-220)
	FD_3.2.86	239375 Syll_539	The Amphictyons honour Eudamos of Athens (204)
	FD_3.2.89	239379 Syll_615	Delphi honours Apollodoros of Athens (c. 180)
	FD_3.2.92	239383 Syll_654	Delphi honours (?) Hegesandros (c. 149-144)
3330	FD_3.2.134.b	239429 Syll_564	The Amphictyons recognise Teos as inviolable (203/2)
	FD_3.2.134.c	239429 Syll_565	Delphi recognises Teos as inviolable (203/2)
	FD_3.2.134.d	239429 Syll_566	Delphi honours Pythagoras and Kleitos of Teos (203/2)
	FD_3.2.158	239455 Syll_451	Delphi honours Eratoxenos of Athens (c. 226)
	FD_3.2.159	239456 Syll_403	The Delphians honour Kybernis of Athens (240-230)
3335	FD_3.2.166	239464 Syll_541	Delphi honours the citizens of Tetrapolis in Attica (240-210)
	FD_3.2.205	239504 Syll_416	The Amphictyons honour Kephalion and Boïdiön (273)
	FD_3.2.207	239506 Syll_432	Delphi honours Nikodromos of Chalkis (c. 265/4)
	FD_3.2.210	239509 Syll_414	Delphi honours Timokrates of Athens (274/3)
3340	FD_3.3.40	239879 Syll_629	The Aetolians recognise the Nikephoria games, instituted by Eumenes (182)
	FD_3.3.121	239741 Syll_670	A statue of Attalos II at Delphi (shortly before 160)
	FD_3.3.128	239749 Syll_648	Delphi honours Satyros of Samos (c. 194)

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3345	FD_3.3.145	239769	Syll_532.B	Chaleion honours Aristodama of Smyrna (c. 218/7)
	FD_3.3.149	239774	Syll_514	A dedication by Lykos of Aetolia at Delphi (c. 225)
	FD_3.3.157	239782	Syll_396	Delphi honours Hierokles of Syracuse (c. 271/0)
	FD_3.3.167	239792	Syll_461	The Amphictyons honour Lykon, the Peripatetic philosopher (249-239)
3350	FD_3.3.184	239810	Syll_494	The Amphictyons honour Agathokles and Damon (260/59)
	FD_3.3.186	239814	Syll_418	The Amphictyons honour Sokrates and Alexeinides (272-270)
	FD_3.3.187	239815	Syll_418	The Amphictyons honour Sokrates and Alexeinides (272-270)
	FD_3.3.191	239819	Syll_423	The Delphians honour Kyllon of Elis (252/1 or 249/8)
	FD_3.3.194	239822	Syll_446	Delphi honours Abaiokritos of Thebes (c. 258/7)
	FD_3.3.203	239831	Syll_417	The Amphictyons honour Satyros, Teisandros and Phainion (272)
3355	FD_3.3.214	239842	Syll_443	Chios honours the Aetolians (c. 247/6)
	FD_3.3.215	239845	Syll_402	A Chian decree about the Soteria games, found at Delphi (249/8)
	FD_3.3.217	239851	Syll_447	Delphi honours Amphiklos of Chios (c. 242/1)
	FD_3.3.218	239852	Syll_506	The Amphictyons honour Timokrates of Chios (c. 237/6)
3360	FD_3.3.218	239852	Syll_507	The Aetolians grant privileges to the Dionysiac Artists (c. 237/6)
	FD_3.3.219	239853	Syll_508	The Delphians honour Timokrates of Chios (c. 237/6)
	FD_3.3.220	239855	Syll_545	The Amphictyons honour Leochides of Chios (206/5)
	FD_3.3.221	239856	Syll_553	Delphi honours Polyarchides of Chios (207/6)
3365	FD_3.3.224	239860	Syll_579	Delphi honours Hermokles of Chios (end of 3rd century)
	FD_3.3.230	239868	Syll_628	A statue of king Eumenes, dedicated by the Aetolians at Delphi (182)
	FD_3.3.238	239876	Syll_671	Delphi holds a festival in honour of Eumenes II (160/59)
	FD_3.3.239	239877	Syll_671	Delphi holds a festival in honour of Eumenes II (160/59)
3370	FD_3.3.241	239880	OGIS_305.A	Delphi recognises games at Sardis, for king Eumenes (c. 166)
	FD_3.3.242	239881	OGIS_305.B	Delphi recognises games at Sardis, for king Eumenes (c. 166)
	FD_3.3.261	239904	Syll_630	The Amphictyons honour Eumenes II (182)
	FD_3.3.378	240033	Syll_441	A dedication by the Rhodians at Delphi (304)
3375	FD_3.3.383	240040	Syll_614	Delphi honours arbitrators sent by Rhodes (c. 180/79)
	FD_3.4.7	240110	Syll_325	Delphi honours Nikodemos of Messenia (c. 308)
	FD_3.4.21	240127	Syll_555	Delphi honours the Messenians (c. 209/8)
	FD_3.4.22	240128	Syll_555	Delphi honours the Messenians (c. 209/8)
3380	FD_3.4.23	240129	Syll_556	Delphi honours the Messenians (c. 209/8)
	FD_3.4.24	240130	Syll_556	Delphi honours the Messenians (c. 209/8)
	FD_3.4.37	240145	Sherk_55G	Piracy Law (101/0) Delphi
	FD_3.4.75	240193	Syll_643	Letter to the Amphictyons concerning Perseus (171/0)
3385	FD_3.4.76	240195	Syll_632	A statue of king Prousius, dedicated by the Aetolians at Delphi (c. 182)
	FD_3.4.125	240251	Syll_509	List of victors at the Delphian Soteria (c. 225)
	FD_3.4.130	240261	Syll_513	A dedication by Aristaineta of Aetolia at Delphi (c. 225)
	FD_3.4.131	240262	Syll_513	A dedication by Aristaineta of Aetolia at Delphi (c. 225)
3390	FD_3.4.133	240265	Inscr_67	Lilaia honours the garrison sent by Attalos (c. 208)
	FD_3.4.153	240293	OGIS_228	Delphi recognises the inviolability of Smyrna (c. 242)
	FD_3.4.155	240296	Syll_470	The Delphians grant privileges to the people of Smyrna (240-230)
	FD_3.4.163	240306	OGIS_234	The Amphictyons recognise the inviolability of Alabanda (201)
3395	FD_3.4.175	240320	Syll_553a	Delphi honours Pilleas of Naupaktos (202/1)
	FD_3.4.207	240368	Syll_397	A dedication by Kleomenes at Delphi. (350-300)
	FD_3.4.218	240380	Syll_361	The Phocians honour Xanthippos (301)
	FD_3.4.219	240385	Syll_361	The Phocians honour Xanthippos (301)
3400	FD_3.4.220	240386	Syll_361	The Phocians honour Xanthippos (301)
	FD_3.4.221	240389	Syll_361	The Phocians honour Xanthippos (301)
	FD_3.4.235	240405	Syll_453	A dedication at Delphi by Nereis, daughter of Pyrrhos II (c. 233)
	FD_3.4.242	240412	Syll_602	Xenon dedicates a statue of his wife Pasichōn at Delphi (200-190)
3405	FD_3.4.353	240552	Syll_612	Two letters of Sp. Postumius to Delphi, with a decree of the senate (189)
	FD_3.4.356	240558	Syll_489	List of contestants at the Delphian Soteria (c. 264/3)
	FD_3.4.357	240560	Inscr_94.A	Decree of the Amphictyons concerning the Ptolemaieia (262/1)
	FD_3.4.362	240568	Syll_538	The Amphictyons honour Philistos of Kos and Philippos of Kalymna (204/3)

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	FD_3.4.367	240579	Syll_643	Letter to the Amphictyons concerning Perseus (171/0)
3415	FD_3.4.372	240588	Syll_550	Delphi recognises the inviolability of the temple at Chalkedon (c. 213-203)
	FD_3.4.387	240605	Syll_383	Delphi honours various Aetolians (c. 283 and 281)
	FD_3.4.409	240637	Syll_379	Delphi honours Prepelaos of Macedonia (c. 300)
	FD_3.4.414	240644	Syll_438	Delphi honours Kotys, king of the Thracians (266/5)
	FD_3.4.418	240650	Syll_430	Delphi honours King Areus (255/4 or 252/1)
3420	FD_3.4.430	240672	Syll_653	Honours granted to Kassandros of Alexandria Troas (165)
	IG_9.1 ² .181	43017	Syll_515	A dedication by Charixenos of Aetolia at Delphi (mid 3rd century)
	IG_9.1 ² .182	43018	Syll_512	A dedication by an Aetolian woman at Delphi (270-230)
	RPh_1943.62	AGL_22		Law against maltreatment of parents at Delphi (c. 300)
3425	SEG_27.123	242021	Syll_610.C	A list of properties given to Delphi by Acilius (190)
	SGDI_2.1708	241218	Inscr_24.A	Manumission of female slaves at Delphi: Meda (c. 160/59)
	SGDI_2.1715	241225	Inscr_24.B	Manumission of female slaves at Delphi: Zopyra (c. 161/0)
3430	SGDI_2.1722	241232	Inscr_24.C	Manumission of slaves at Delphi: Antigona (158/7)
	SGDI_2.1747	241258	Inscr_24.D	Manumission of slaves at Delphi: Phalakra (166/5)
	SGDI_2.1798	241310	Inscr_24.E	Manumission of slaves at Delphi: Damarchis (168/7)
	SGDI_2.1803	241315	Inscr_24.F	Manumission of slaves at Delphi: Hedyla (172)
	SGDI_2.1826	241338	Inscr_24.G	Manumission of slaves at Delphi: Euphrosyna (c. 161/0)
3435	SGDI_2.1842	241354	Inscr_24.H	Manumission of slaves at Delphi: Sosikrateia (170-156)
	SGDI_2.1854	241366	Austin_147.b	Manumission records at Delphi: Maiphatas (167)
	SGDI_2.1867	241379	Inscr_24.I	Manumission of slaves at Delphi: Sosicha (176)
	SGDI_2.1899	241412	Inscr_22	Manumission of Damon by a doctor (155/4)
	SGDI_2.2001	241514	Inscr_24.J	Manumission of slaves at Delphi: Artemidora (197)
3440	SGDI_2.2070	241583	Mackil_61G	Manumission record of Nikon of Megara (189/8)
	SGDI_2.2084	241597	Inscr_24.K	Manumission of slaves at Delphi: Dorema (184)
	SGDI_2.2101	241614	Syll_631	Alkesippos dedicates money for a sacrifice and public feast at Delphi (182)
	SGDI_2.2123	241630	Inscr_24.L	Manumission of slaves at Delphi: Eukleia (194)
3445	SGDI_2.2143	241651	Austin_147.a	Manumission records at Delphi: Sosos (144)
	SGDI_2.2596	241834	Syll_445	Delphi honours Kallikles of Athens (251/0 or 247/6)
	SGDI_2.2607	241842	Syll_481	Delphi honours foreign residents (c. 257/6)
	SGDI_2.2677	241869	OGIS_241	Delphi honours Dikaiarchos of Laodikeia (168/7)
	Sylloge_404	241967	Syll_404	The Delphians honour the city of Alexandria (276)
3450	Sylloge_411	241970	Syll_411	A dedication by Eretria at Delphi, in honour of Neoptolemos (274-267)
	Sylloge_415	241973	Syll_415	Delphi honours Eugeiton of Tanagra (274/3)
	Sylloge_424	241976	Syll_424	List of contestants at the Delphian Soteria (256/5 or 254/3)
3455	Sylloge_425	241978	Syll_425	Public dedications at Delphi (c. 270)
	Sylloge_437	241981	Syll_437	Delphi honours Philistion (240-230)
	Sylloge_444	241982	Syll_444	The Amphictyons honour Kallikles of Athens (c. 247-240)
	Sylloge_452	241987	Syll_452	Delphi honours Nikandros of Kolophon (254/3 or 250/49)
	Sylloge_458	241988	Syll_458	A dedication by Aristomachos of Sikyon, at Delphi (250)
3460	Sylloge_460	Syll_460	Delphi	grants privileges to the Dionysiac Artists (c. 300-280)
	Sylloge_481A	241991	Syll_481	Delphi honours foreign residents (c. 257/6)
	Sylloge_534	241999	Syll_534	Delphi honours Pantaleon and Aristarchos (c. 205/4)
	Sylloge_534B	242000	Syll_534	Delphi honours Pantaleon and Aristarchos (c. 205/4)
	Sylloge_548	242004	Syll_548	Delphi honours the people of Sardis (c. 213/2)
3465	Sylloge_549	242006	Syll_549	Delphi honours Matrophanes of Sardis (c. 213/2)
	Sylloge_585	242007	Syll_585	List of proxenoi of Delphi (197-175)
	Sylloge_598.B	242009	Syll_598	The Amphictyons honour Sosikles of Magnesia (194)
	Sylloge_604	242013	Syll_604	Delphi honours the city of Chersonnesos (192)
	Sylloge_607	242015	Syll_607	A statue of Acilius at Delphi (191/0)
3470	Sylloge_608	242016	Syll_608	Delphi honours Dionysios of Elea (c. 178/7)
	Sylloge_609	242018	Syll_609	A letter of Acilius to the city of Delphi (190)
	Sylloge_610	242020	Syll_610	A list of properties given to Delphi by Acilius (190)
	Sylloge_611	242022	Syll_611	Letter of C. Livius Salinator to Delphi (189/8)
	Sylloge_616	242024	Syll_616	Delphi honours Flamininus (c. 189/8)
3475	Sylloge_621	242025	Syll_621	A statue of Pantaleon of Aetolia at Delphi (186-172)
	Sylloge_622	242026	Syll_622	Aetolian decree concerning Epikles of Axos (c. 185-175)
	Sylloge_672	242032	Syll_672	Decree of Delphi, concerning a foundation provided by Attalos II (160/59)

3480 August 14, 1854 SOME ART TREASURES FROM THE GLASS PALACE OF SYDENHAM.
The glass palace at Sydenham, whose external appearance we have previously discussed, also contains many works of art within its interior that are well worth seeing. Entering through the door of the great transept, the eye is immediately drawn to the famous works of sculpture that adorn this part of the palace. At the entrance, one

3485 encounters a copy of the Greek monument known as the Lantern of Demosthenes or Monument of Lysicrates. It is the only one of its kind to have escaped general destruction. Nearby are the well-known groups of horses from Monte Cavallo, which can be seen in Rome on the Quirinal Hill and are attributed to Phidias and Praxiteles, without any other evidence than the fact that their names are inscribed on the

3490 marble. There is also the famous Farnese Tower, found in the baths of Caracalla in Rome and now displayed in the Naples Museum. Pliny attributes this group to Apollonius of Rhodes.

Directly opposite, in the other half of the transept, to make room for the Quirinal groups, other statues have been placed, such as: Castor and Pollux, on horseback, by

3495 San Giorgio of Milan, whose originals are made of bronze. In the center is the equestrian statue of Coleoni, by André Verrocchio, the original of which, also in bronze, is in Venice and is considered one of the most beautiful works of the Renaissance style. But after this general glance at the transept, one must return to the most interesting part of the palace, namely the halls of the fine arts, which are

3500 decorated in the style of the various periods to which they belong. The Egyptian halls deserve first mention. Here one cannot say: Ab Jove principium, for Jupiter resembles the youngest of the family among these gods and kings to whom the ancient Egyptian temples are dedicated. Here one finds oneself before the oldest sculpture in the world, and what must be especially astonishing is that Egyptian art, the oldest

3505 and father of all others, reached a height in one leap that has remained unchanged in later years; the two first monuments of the world, the pyramids, are still the largest.

Egyptian art, the oldest known, has also left behind the most remains. The Egyptians built for immortality, and in this they certainly succeeded. By following the

3510 precepts that bound art within them, they combined the highest comprehension with an exceptionally beautiful execution. They not only created everything that came after them, but even surpassed it. In all other nations, art passes through the same phases; from its birth, it rapidly ascends to a high level of perfection, only to then slowly descend again. But in Egypt this is by no means the case. The further

3515 back one goes in time, the more perfect the art; its birth and culmination are unknown. In the most perfect temples discovered, one finds stones set into the walls with hieroglyphs on the inside, which are finer and more beautiful in execution than modern art can achieve. Egyptian sculpture was regulated by the religious laws of this exceptional people and has remained unwavering in its general forms for several

3520 centuries. The Egyptian section of the building is reached via an avenue formed by eight large sleeping lions, modeled after those in the British Museum. The facade, which faces the nave, is a portico from the Ptolemaic period; on the frieze is a hieroglyphic inscription honoring Queen Victoria and Prince Albert. It reads: "In the seventeenth year of the reign of Her Majesty, Mistress of the Waves, Daughter of

3525 Kings-Victoria, Most Illustrious Queen-the directors, architects, painters, and sculptors have created this palace and these gardens for the instruction of the men and women of all lands, of all nations." Most of the temples and colonnades in this part of the palace are not replicas of existing monuments; they are a collection of different architectural orders, borrowed from various sources, and assembled

3530 arbitrarily, though good taste has not been lost sight of. Copies of Egyptian monuments were, of course, out of the question; the temple of the palace of Karnac alone was larger than the entire glass palace! All the monuments in this museum are therefore merely models on a very reduced scale.

This is how the first column-shaped structure was constructed.

3535 A model of the Ptolemaic architectural order, approximately three hundred years before Christ, when Greek influence had already introduced a certain looseness of style into the massive and, so to speak, priestly architectural order from the times of Sesostris and the Pharaohs. The color is based on that of the ruins. Upon entering the first hall, one sees paintings of battles and processions on the walls, taken

3540 from a temple of Ramses, located near Thebes. The second of the facades here belongs to this same temple, the Memnonium; it consists of eight columns, each with a colossal statue of King Rhamses. These statues originally measured thirty feet in height.

It is this facade that served as a transition to the famous colonnade of Karnac. It

3545 is especially in the case of this gigantic monument that the system adopted by English artists is given ample opportunity for criticism. Egyptian architecture and sculpture are so astonishingly colossal in scale that life-size models can only give

a false impression of the whole. Reproducing them on a small scale, which in itself would not resemble the real thing, can give a more faithful idea of the actual
3550 monument than a static image. The colonnade of Karnac in the glass palace, however carefully executed, can therefore offer no idea of the original.

This famous temple, the creation of Rhamses II, the most powerful of the Egyptian kings, who lived around 1170 BC, was connected to the almost equally famous temple of Luxor by an avenue of sphinxes over 2,000 cubits long. A hall has survived, measuring
3555 over 1,200 feet long and 360 feet wide. Another avenue led to a portal 360 feet long and 148 feet high, with a large gate 64 feet wide, leading to a hall measuring 58,000 square feet. In this hall, with folded arms, stood statues with shoulders 25 feet wide, whose faces measured 7 feet, their noses 21 feet, their beards 51 feet, and their headdresses 14 feet long. These statues were 72 feet high; they could be seen
3560 from a distance of 12 miles. In this hall of columns, restored in the glass palace, were 134 columns, 12 of which were 66 feet high and 12 feet in diameter in the center, while the others were 42 feet high and 9 feet in diameter.

The ambition of the Egyptian kings, therefore, seems to have consisted solely in building immortal tombs; For this purpose, they piled one temple and one mountain on top of the other. The two large pyramids are tombs. The smaller one covers an area at its base equal to 11 acres of land, and its four corners converge at a height of 460 feet. The other is 40 feet higher and 40 feet wider at its base. At its foot sits the great sphinx, a lion with a human head; it is 80 feet long. This pyramid is the
3570 largest monument, and the sphinx is also the largest statue ever made.

Continuing the road along this side, one first comes to the facade of the ancient temple of Abu Simbel, carved into the rock around 1565 BC. This facade was 117 feet long and 100 feet high. The seated statues represent Rhamses the Great, his mother, his wife, and his daughter; they can be found in their original size of 65 feet in another part of the palace. The model of this memorial was taken at one-tenth the
3575 size of the original.

Turning left, one finds the portico of the temple of Philae, situated on an island in the middle of Egypt's sacred river, the Nile. Then, passing through the Hall of Amenophis, one arrives at the tomb of Beni-Hassan, the oldest of the memorials, a model of which was provided in the Glass Palace; it dates from 1660 BC. The paintings
3580 inside depict the domestic life of the Egyptians. The Egyptian Museum also houses copies of the Rosetta Bull (Stone!), which was discovered by a French engineer during the expedition to Egypt. On this basalt stone, dating from the year 196 before the birth of Jesus Christ, was an inscription in hieroglyphs, or sacred letters, in common Egyptian and Greek. It is thanks to this Egyptian translation that the key to
3585 the language of hieroglyphs has been discovered.

Of all these curiosities of the most remote antiquity, it can rightly be said that the ancient architects were truly great men. They could not borrow anything from anyone. Their own genius alone was their source of inspiration, and this led them to produce works as grand as any they have ever seen. They discovered many rules that...
3590 They were considered essential elements of art and were far superior to useless ornamentation. They fully grasped the importance of their calling. The last Egyptian temples, copied from their models, have given the world an idea of the greatness of their architecture.

Chronologically, after Egypt comes Greece. Entering the nave of the building, one
3595 finds oneself before a Doric-style facade, followed by a temple of Jupiter at Nemea, 400 BC. The frieze is decorated with inscriptions and the names of the principal cities of Greece. Groups of wrestlers, Silenus and Bacchus, Bacchus and the Fauns are placed in front of the facade. The central door leads to the great hall; this is square, surrounded by porticos, and represents the agora of the Greeks, or the forum
3600 of the Romans—that is, a place intended for public meetings. It is of Doric architecture, and the names placed on the frieze are those of poets, philosophers, and artists of Greece. The paintings that will adorn the walls (and which are still in progress) are illustrations from Greek theology; they are being executed under the supervision and according to the sketches of G. Scharf and depict: 1st. Olympus; 2nd. the capture of Troy; 3rd. the realm of the underworld; 4th. the era of Pericles and Phidias.
3605

In this room, one finds the masterpieces of ancient sculpture, familiar to everyone. In the center, like the finest stone of this diadem, stands the most beautiful woman in the world, the Venus de Milo, discovered by Mr. Marcellus in 1820 and which now
3610 adorns the Louvre in Paris. This is the Venus Victrix. Next to her stands the Venus of Capua, almost identical to the former, the original of which can be found in the Museum of Naples. Furthermore, there is the wrestler from the Louvre in Paris. the Juno Farnese from Naples, the Naiad from the Louvre, the Faunus from the Vatican; the Faunus from the Capitol, the Minerva Farnese from Naples, the Medicea from Rome, the
3615 Sleeping Ariadne, which is found in one of the Vatican halls, and the Laocoon

discovered in the ruins of Titus's palace in 1506 and considered a masterpiece of ancient art.

Continuing along this path, one arrives at a covered gallery, where a different architectural style is given a place. The square pilasters supporting this gallery were found at Eleusis. The ceiling, executed with equal talent and taste, is the work of Owen Jones, who believes that the Greeks painted their monuments and monumental sculpture; and in the copies of the friezes and reliefs of the Parthenon, he had some sections painted to serve as a benchmark for comparison.

The principal adornment of the bas-reliefs is a replica of one of the facades of the Parthenon, the most beautiful of all temples in the world. It is painted at approximately one-quarter of the usual size, and this is the largest representation of it ever made. It is here that one can appreciate the value of the earlier

observation regarding the reproduction of Egyptian monuments on a reduced scale. For Greek monuments, copies of normal size can give a faithful idea of the original, because the beauty of Greek art lies less in size than in the harmony of proportions.

At its highest point, the Parthenon was only 64 feet high; it was 228 feet long and 100 feet wide; the columns were 34 feet high and 6 feet in diameter. This famous temple, as is well known, was dedicated to Minerva, the patron goddess of Athena. In the cella, in the center of the temple, stood the statue of this goddess, in gold and ivory, a masterpiece by Phidias. It was under the supervision of this artist that the work on the temple, built by Ictinus and Callicrates, took place. The Parthenon dates from the most beautiful age of art, that of Pericles, 444 years before Jesus Christ.

The first drawings of the Parthenon that exist date from 1674 and were made by a French artist, Jacobus Carrey, while the Marquis de Nointel was in Athens. These drawings are still in the Paris collection and remain the most accurate ones in existence today, as since then the Parthenon has suffered new and numerous

destructions, both by the ravages of time and by human hands. When Carrey made his sketches, the Temple of Minerva served as a Christian church, and the statues had been removed from one of the pediments to replace them with a peddler. A few years

later, in 1687, the Venetians shelled Athens, and the Parthenon, which had been converted into a powder magazine, was severely damaged by an explosion that destroyed the central section of the building and shattered several statues. It is known that the Turks used the columns of the Parthenon to make plaster, that travelers took pieces for their collections, and that Lord Elgin finally brought back the finest

remains of Phidias's work in England. These incomparably beautiful remains, which now adorn the British Museum in London, have been returned to the Glass Palace. The frieze, depicting the Feasts of Minerva, extends the entire length of the gallery; as we have mentioned, a section is painted; another is white on a blue ground; yet another is completely white, so that comparisons can be made. There you will also

find the famous statues brought back by Lord Elgin, which have preserved his name. It is believed that the Parthenon contained 44 statues; of these, 13 fragments are now left in London and 2 in Athens. This is all that remains of these beautiful works.

The Glass Palace also possesses a copy of Theseus, considered the most perfect of the known fragments; furthermore, copies of Ceres and Proserpina, a head of the horse of the chariot of the night, and of the Fates. On the opposite side of the Parthenon is the famous group of Niobe, found in 1580 at the gate of St. John in Rome and now in

Florence. In the halls of the Glass Palace dedicated to Greek works of art, there are more than 200 statues, the description of which would naturally take us too far afield, so we have limited ourselves to the most important.

The Roman halls differ little from the Greek ones; there is no such thing as Roman art. The conquerors of the world made the conquered peoples work for them. Among the Romans, the first artists were the Etrurians and then the Greeks.

It is known that the Etrurians, now the Tuscans, were a people particularly fond of art; but it was not only in this that they excelled; they were also a very

industrious people and already engaged in extensive trade when Rome was still in its infancy. The Romans produced large, primarily useful works, such as the construction of roads and aqueducts. They also built great temples, but the Etrurians sculpted statues and images of gods, whether in earth or bronze. One of the oldest Etrurian fragments is the she-wolf from the Capitol.

After the defeat of Pyrrhus (275 BC) and the conquest of Sicily, the Romans brought their victorious weapons to Greece, and Paulus Emilius, the victor over Perseus, King of Macedonia, returned to Rome in triumph with the spoils captured in Greece. He loaded no fewer than 250 wagons with it (167 years before the birth of Christ).

Twenty years later, in 146, Mummius completed the conquest of Greece; he abandoned everything to plunder and took with him a great number of masterpieces, many of which, however, broke or were severely damaged during transport. The destruction of the Romans during their invasions and during their rule over the Greek provinces is incalculable.

But at the same time, a multitude of Greek artists settled in Rome, and a new era of

- 3685 art dawned for them as well as for the Romans—an era of wealth and elegance of production, but also of decline. The simple and ideal beauty of pure Greek art gave way to something more sensuous, which appealed less to the senses than to the passions. Under the first Roman Emperors, people were content with imitating Greek masterpieces; and this explains why they often produced several copies of the same
- 3690 kind. To embellish his palace, Nero commissioned five hundred statues from Delphi. Titus had his baths built on the site where this palace stood, and it was there that some famous pieces were later discovered, such as the Laocoon. The Forum is owed to Trajan and bears his name; likewise, the column, a depiction of which will also enrich the Glass Palace, is his. The era of Hadrian was the most flourishing; during
- 3695 his reign, art seems to have reached a high level of perfection. It was during the reign of the Antonines that the engraved stones and cameos, which served for many portraits, were produced.
- In the fourth century, when the seat of the Empire was transferred to Constantinople, the arts, artists, and the collection of fine arts followed the same path, followed
- 3700 by the masterpieces already brought from Greece. But the arrival of Barbarian tribes, who sought only gold, silver, and bronze, was a mortal blow to the finest collections. Thus disappeared the works of Phidias, Polycletus, and Lysippus, long before the fall of the Greek Empire.
- Entering the Roman halls through the nave, one finds oneself facing a facade borrowed
- 3705 from the ground floor of the Coliseum in Rome. This is the first time in the history of ancient architecture that one hears mention of the arch style. The Greeks never used it. It was therefore believed that its first use occurred under Roman rule; however, recent discoveries made in Assyria have proven that the arch dated back to a much earlier age and was widely used in Nineveh, and that it was brought from there
- 3710 to Asia Minor, from where the Etrurians introduced it to Italy. A model and relief of the Coliseum, although not yet fully completed, will be placed in the Roman halls of the glass palace. The large hall is entirely clad and decorated with stones imitating the porphyry, malachite, and rare marbles that the Romans used extensively in their palaces.
- 3715 The Venus of the Capitol, which can be found here, is preferred by many masters to the Venus de Medici, as it is wrought in a purer and more exalted style; also found here are the Venus Genitrix, the Venus of the Sea, and the Venus of Arles, all from the Louvre. Around it, the Venus Callipygos of Naples, the Bacchus of the Louvre.
- 3720 Arranged in chronological order around the hall are the busts of Roman kings and emperors. A relief of the Forum in Rome, one of the most interesting for study, has also been placed here. The Capitoline Hill, the ruins of the Temple of Concord, the Arch of Septimius Severus, the Column of Phocas, the Temples of Antonius and Faustina, the Temple of Peace, the Arch of Constantine, the Coliseum, and the Arch of Titus.
- 3725 On the other side of the main hall are several rooms, which have been converted into Roman baths. These baths are furnished entirely in accordance with the original. They are decorated with beautiful statues; there is the Hall of Apollo and the Hall of Diana. Apollo is the one seen on the Belvedere in the Vatican, which has given rise to so many conjectures. Diana is the one from the Louvre and the goddess of the hunt.
- 3730 August 23, 1896 Archaeological Discoveries in Greece.
(Delphi.)
III.
- While excavations at Olympia have been halted for some time, or at least are no longer being continued continuously, scholars of the "French school" in Athens are
- 3735 still constantly at work at Delphi, where they are also continually making more or less important discoveries, including, very recently, that bearded bronze charioteer, one of the most important metal works of art of antiquity, whose excavation has been widely reported. The fact is that excavations at Delphi have only been underway for a few years.
- 3740 Before excavation began, there was a Pelasgian wall, fragments of walls from the sacred precincts of Delphi, the spring of Castalia, fragments of statues and sculptures embedded, as had been done elsewhere, in the walls of the miserable huts in the surrounding area: this is all that remained of one of the most famous and magnificent metropolises of the ancient world. Founded on a terrace on the southern
- 3745 slope of Parnassus, in this land of Krisoa and Phoki, on the blue Gulf of Corinth, protected on two sides by mighty rock walls, Delphi had for centuries been the most magnificent sanctuary of antiquity. Not only the Greeks, but also the Barbarians had sent envoys to inquire of the oracle of the blind god of light. And gradually, unprecedented treasures, magnificent works of art, were gathered in its treasuries.
- 3750 Pausanias also holds great value compared to Delphi: the Temple of Apollo alone, he said, contains four thousand statues of gold, bronze, and ironwood; then countless shields, tripods, animal images, votive offerings of all kinds, gifts from kings,

3755 commonwealths, corporations, and private individuals. But the time came when these treasures were carried away. Nero brought 500 bronze statues from Delphi to Rome, the sanctuary gradually lost its significance, the oracle was opposed by the Church Fathers, and finally, in 390, it was Theodesius who finally closed the door for good. The holy city subsequently fell into ruin, caused by nature and malice, and soon, throughout the Middle Ages, the shepherds of the village of Kastri, now built on its remains, tended their sheep and goats, where the highest wisdom had once spoken.

3760 The success the Germans had enjoyed with their excavation of Olympia encouraged the French to attempt similar work at Delphi: in 1881, the French Chamber donated 500,000 francs, and in October 1892, work began, initially encountering strong resistance from the pastoral population of Kastri. And, although not nearly as extensive as at Olympia, the excavations at Delphi have yielded a greater harvest of important

3765 artifacts: inscriptions, statues, bas-reliefs, foundations of more than seven buildings, bronzes, vases, etc. The first major discovery was the Athenian treasury located on the Sacred Way: a small building of Penthellic marble of Darian style, whose walls were literally covered with inscriptions. Destroyed by an earthquake, it had suffered relatively

3770 little damage. Pausanas also helped explain the discovery here: the sanctuary of the Athenians, erected in memory of Marathon, the spoils of the Persians. If its walls already constitute a veritable historical library, where an important "Hymn to Apollo" has also been found, which explains so much about the music of the ancients, perhaps even more important are the metopes of this small sanctuary. Thirty of them,

3775 all damaged, depict the "Labors of Hercules and Theseus." As sculptures, they are even more valuable than the famous metopes of the Parthenon, unlawfully brought to England by Lord Elgin. But not only are works from the heyday of Hellenic sculpture found; important works of archaic art have also been discovered, statues of Apollo, in that rigid, hard

3780 style reminiscent of the oldest wooden sculptures. Of the famous treasury of Apollo, of which so many ancient writers recount wonders, nothing more than insignificant fragments remained. It had been systematically destroyed. They were more fortunate with the treasury of the inhabitants of the island of Siphnos, reputed to be the most beautiful and richest at Delphi. The

3785 excavations have restored it in its entirety: a work of the 6th century BC, and of admirable architectural execution. A frieze—horsemen, chariots, quadrigas, battle scenes—runs around the four walls of the small temple. It is a truly unique sculptural ensemble, despite being a century older than the aforementioned Elgin marbles of the Parthenon. A significant franton has also been recovered from this

3790 sanctuary, important though it is, apparently by another artist, of much less beautiful quality than the frieze. Traces of the colors are still very clear in some of these; the background always blue, the horses red, the armor green, the chariots red, blue, and green. Two exedras, the stoa of the Athenians, a Greco-Roman tomb, houses, an aqueduct,

3795 ruins that have not yet been explained—these are some of the remains found at Delphi. But even before these, a few sculptures deserve mention: a very large Sphinx, among others, a gift from the inhabitants of Naxos. Among the most beautiful sculptures found there are three dancing coriatis, surrounded by leaves and flowers. And now, a good year ago, an Antinous was unearthed, a worthy counterpart to the Olympian

3800 Hermes. A work of Roman origin, apparently, but of purely Greek beauty. Several important bronzes were also found, including that male statue, which was only recently returned to light a few weeks ago. Such is the case with the excavations at Delphi, which are still ongoing and have proven to be of the utmost importance for the history of Greek art. Besides having yielded valuable clues regarding Greek

3805 music, it is hoped that remnants will also be discovered that will reveal the art of painting. To what extent this expectation will be confirmed is difficult to say at this time, but what has already been discovered is of the utmost importance and encourages further exploration.

1 juli 1920 DELPHI, MONUMENTS OF THE THESSALIAN PRINCES

3810 [p. 291] It is impossible to prescribe the limits of development for a genius like Lysippus, of whose 1,500 famous bronze statues only a fraction is preserved to-day, not in the originals, but in more or less successful marble copies. That, in spite of all divergences, there are common features connecting the Agias and the Apoxyomenos, has rightly been emphasized by good judges in recent times. 1)

3815 The artistic career of Lysippus begins for our inquiries with the year 372 BC, when he executed the statue of a man who had won the chariot-race at Olympia "both with full-grown horses and with colts." The base of the statue was found in the German excavations, and shows characters of writing agreeing well with this date. 2) The monument of Daochus, as shown above, was erected soon after 340 BC; but the original

3820 Agias statue at Pharsalus is older, and may well have been produced some years

before, in the beginning or middle of the forties.

There is no reason to date it still earlier, for we must start with the assumption that Lysippus was not taken up by the Thessalian nobles, but that they only placed orders with him when his fame was assured and his style well known.

3825 Pliny gives a far later date, 328 BC, as the culminating-point of his art, probably the time when he executed his most famous portrait, that of Alexander. Even after 320 BC, Lysippus is active, and executes a great bronze group at Delphi, the lion-hunt of Alexander and Craterus, which was ordered by Craterus, son-in-law of the Macedonian Viceroy Antipater and one of Alexander's old companions in arms, in memory of the
3830 fact that during the Asiatic expedition in a hunt he felled a lion which threatened the life of the great king. In gratitude for the escape of both, the group was dedicated to Apollo at Delphi; but as Craterus died in 321 BC, it was his newly-born son who erected the group in his father's name, exactly as was the case with Hieron's group, erected at Olympia by his son, Deinomene

3835 Pliny names this among the most famous works of Lysippus; Plutarch says it had two authors, Lysippus and Leochares. 3)

The base of the group has been discovered at Delphi in a chamber to right of the staircase, which north of the temple leads up to the theatre (fig. 150), and the metrical inscription reports that the group was vowed by Craterus, friend of the
3840 great Alexander, but only his son performed the vow and dedicated it in memory of the fight with the lion which his father courageously carried through when he followed King Alexander on his Asiatic expedition; he laid the lion low on the borders of the Nomad Syrians.

In consideration of the son's tender age, it was assumed that the group was erected
3845 long after 320, about 300 BC, but against that are the other dates of the two artists engaged, and there is nothing to prevent us from thinking of the group as erected in the name of the infant son. 1) Anyhow, it is a longlife for an artist, of whose outlines we thus catch glimpses, and the Apoxyomenos probably belongs only to its latest period, the twenties of the fourth century.

3850 In any case Lysippus, at the time when he executed the Agias, was strongly influenced by the art of Scopas, and only in advanced years seems to have experienced the artistic transformation of which the Apoxyomenos bears witness. This is the importance of the Delphic find, that it reveals to us how late this master "found his nature" as Aristotle would say. 1) In this respect he reminds us of a modern sculptor

3855 like Meunier, who only at the age of fifty-five became the Meunier the world knows and admires. Homolle conjectures that other figures from the Daochus monument are copies of Lysippus' originals, and the latest found Agelaus figure (fig. 133) might point to that. But so long as most of the figures are headless, all appreciation of them is out of the question, for at this stage of his development Lysippus, like

3860 Scopas, showed more individuality in characterizing heads than bodies. Twenty years later, on the threshold of old age, he is a different man. A torso, contemporary with and stylistically akin to the Apoxyomenos, we should without difficulty recognize as his work. 2)

3865 1 Amelung, in Helbig's Führer, 3rd ed., n. 23; Studniczka, Das Bildnis Menanders, Leipzig, 1918, 20.

2 Pausanias, vi. 1,4.; Loewy, Inschriften griech. Bildhauer, 76.

3 Pliny, Nat. Hist., xxxiv. 64; Plutarch, Alexander, 40.

1 Perdrizet, Bull. de con. hell., xxii, 1898, 566.

3870 1 Lysippus was also the author of the bronze group of the Sun-god on his car founded by the Rhodians, the base inscription of which Pomtow thought he had found in Delphi; Dittenberger, Sylloge, 441; Pliny, Nat. Hist., xxxiv. 63. This is, however, incorrect; the lettering is characteristic of the end of the third century, so a century later than Lysippus; Bourguet, Bull. de corr. hell., xxxiv, 1911, 458, and Revue arch., 1918, i. 220.

3875 2 In my description of the Thessalians I have omitted to use the judgment Theopompus passes on them {Athenaeus, xii. 527a): "They play away their time with dancing women and flute-players, others spend whole days in dice-playing, drinking, or other excesses, and they take more care about filling their board with all manner of meats than in leading an honourable life. But the Pharsalians are the laziest and the most pitiful of them all." Further, he describes how one can win the friendship of the Thessalians by drinking matches with them and by joining in
3880 their debaucheries (op. cit., vi. 260b). But Theopompus passes similar judgments on the Etruscans, the people of Methymna and other Greek towns, and on Philip of Macedon (Athenaeus, xii. 507, d, e; x. 442/-44, a; iv. i66/-i67e); so he seems to have been a specialist in chroniques scandaleuses.

<https://archive.org/details/delhipoulsen00poul>

3885 January 1, 1924 DELPHI

BY DR. J. W. VAN ROOIJEN.

If one wants to reach Delphi by land from Athens, this isn't the easiest route. By train, one can only travel as far as Brailo, a station on the railway to Salonika. From there, a bus—a grand name for a truck with some benches—runs to Amphissa.

- 3890 However, if, like us, you're lucky enough that the bus doesn't even wait for the express train from Athens, good advice is expensive. The nearest village (I've forgotten the name) is a few hours away. The helpful stationmaster, however, had some advice. We were able to rent a couple of mules, and so, packed and ready, we set off. A car was reportedly available in the village in question.
- 3895 However, upon arrival, it turned out that the car had to come from Amphissa. It didn't arrive until evening. We've rarely experienced more frightening moments than during that car ride. Imagine being driven at breakneck speed up a mountain as high as Parnassus, in a car driven by the most reckless driver in the world, who takes corners so sharply that at any moment you think you're going to plunge, car and all,
- 3900 into the abyss that constantly gapes at you on the right, while you sometimes whizz past cars going uphill at the speed of an express train. Then you'll understand how happy we were to finally have arrived in Amphissa. We don't have any pleasant memories of this last place; the Xenodokeion (hotel), which was the best in the town, didn't even meet the most modest standards of
- 3905 cleanliness; we were therefore very glad to be able to leave this inhospitable place as early as possible. From Amphissa, however, to Delphi is quite a climb; Cars are unavailable here, so we, forced by necessity, had to resort again to our driver from the previous evening, who brought us up without incident.
- 3910 Delphi, also called Pytho in ancient times, lies between high rocks on a gently sloping terrain. Where the rocky plateau meets the mountain, rise the so-called Phaedriades, the shining rocks, so named because the sunlight reflects brilliantly from the bare limestone. The two rocks form an obtuse angle and are separated only by a narrow abyss. From the eastern rock rises the spring Kastalia, whose water flows
- 3915 along the rocks to Pieistos, a quarter of an hour away. The Delphic oracle was ancient. According to a Delphic legend, the vapors that rose from a gorge and sent the Pythia into a kind of ecstasy were said to have been discovered by a goat herder. He had... He noticed that his goats, when they approached the chasm in question, made strange leaps and uttered unusual sounds; when
- 3920 he himself approached the chasm, he fell into a kind of ecstasy and began to prophesy. Before Apollo established his oracle here, Gaia, the Earth, was the first possessor of the oracle; her daughter Themis succeeded her; the oracle's pronouncements were called themistes (laws). Themis voluntarily ceded the place to Phoebe, who then gave the oracle to her grandson Phoibos Apollo. He traveled from Delos, the island where he was born, accompanied by the Athenians, who boasted of being the first to pave the sacred road to Delphi, to Delphi, where the people and King Delphos received him with joy.
- 3925 According to another legend, Apollo did not acquire the oracle so peacefully. Shortly after his birth, Apollo is said to have set out to seek an oracle. He took a liking to the Valley of Delphi and decided to establish an oracle there. However, the serpent Python, who lived here near the Delphic spring, prevented him from entering. The young god engaged the serpent in battle and killed it with his arrows.
- 3930 There, for the first time, the paeon, the joyful song of victory, resounded from the mouth of the god and the choir of Delphic young women; in remembrance of this victory, the Pythian Games were established forever. As penance for the death of the Python, Apollo was then forced to flee and perform eight years of slave labor. He went to King Admetus in Thessaly and was purified in the Valley of Tempe, to return to Delphi as Phoibos, the bright and radiant one.
- 3935 This penance and purification were symbolically represented at the festivals, which occurred every eight years; a boy, supposed to represent Apollo, set fire to a hut, the hut of Python, in front of the temple: then he hastily fled. Accompanied by a procession, he passed through Locris, Doris, over the Oeta, to Tempe, and here, like Apollo before him, he was purified. According to legend, Apollo appointed Cretans, whom he had brought here by sea, as priests. When the leader of these men looked at the bare rocky plain and asked the god what they were supposed to be made of here. The god replied, "Everyone must hold the sacrificial knife ready in their right hand and continually slaughter sacrificial animals, which the people will bring to me in countless numbers." And so it was done.
- 3940 People came from all sides to consult the god and have their sacrificial animals slaughtered; precious gifts were also presented to the god, so that the temple acquired a great wealth of precious metals and works of art. Homer (Iliad, book 9) already speaks of "the great riches that the stone threshold of Pytho encloses within." Not only Greeks consulted the oracle, but also foreign peoples. Don't we
- 3945 read in "Iliad" that the king of Lydia, Croesus, consulted the oracle when he wanted to march against Cyrus, the king of Persia? A league of so-called Amphictyons, consisting of peoples from Central and Northern Greece, had united to protect the sanctuary and celebrate the festivals at their

- shared expense. The Dorians, in particular, had established close ties with the oracle when they lived near Parnassus and Oeta, and they maintained these ties even after settling in the Peloponnese.
- In the centuries between Lycurgus and the Persian Wars, Delphi became both the religious and political center of Greece. Nothing of importance was undertaken by individuals or states without first seeking the advice of the Delphic god.
- At the beginning of the Persian Wars, the oracle was uncertain and gave equivocal answers. After the Battle of Salamis (480 BC) was the first to take up Greece's national cause again. The fact that the temple had been spared by the Persians (probably because of their worship of the god of light) raised the oracle's prestige. Trophies from the spoils taken from the Persians were erected at Delphi, and the Amphictyones issued decrees in honor of those who had remained loyal to their homeland.
- However, a reaction gradually set in. In the so-called holy wars, the oracle's power diminished; at one point, the Phoenicians even seized the temples' immense treasures and used them to finance the war they waged. Admittedly, the oracle still enjoyed some prestige during the time of Emperor Hadrian (117-138 AD), but only in private matters. When Emperor Julian the Apostate, before his expedition to Persia in 362 AD, C. had the oracle questioned, and he received the answer: "Tell the king that the cunningly made dwelling is covered with dust, Phoibos has no more shelter, no prophetic laurel, nor a bubbling spring; "The beautiful water has ceased to flow."
- Finally, in 390 AD, the oracle was closed forever by Emperor Theodosius. The actual sacred space, formerly enclosed by walls, was approximately 130 meters wide and 180 m long. The main entrance was located in the southeast, and from here the sacred road, with two bends, led to the Temple of Apollo. Along this entire road stood statues and votive offerings in great numbers. Emperor Nero had approximately 500 statues removed, yet the number of those remaining was estimated at 3,000. The number of statues at the entrance was exceptionally large. On the right side stood the statue of a bull, dedicated by the Kerkyraeans in 500 BC; opposite this stood the monument built by the Athenians in memory of the Battle of Marathon.
- To the west of this stood the wooden horse of the Argives, dedicated in 414 BC. C. dedicated. This was followed by a triumphal monument of the Arcadians, which they had erected there to commemorate their liberation of Sparta. On the left were the Seven Against Thebes, with the chariot of Amphiaraus, a memorial of the Argives to their victory at Oenoe.
- If one continued along the sacred road, one would pass more than a dozen treasuries, built by various cities and states of Greece. Among these, the Siphnian treasury, which we will discuss in more detail below, was well preserved; it resembles an Ionic templum in antis, with caryatides instead of columns. The Doric treasury of the Athenians is also well preserved; it has been rebuilt in its entirety.
- Following this was a large building, where one can see the bouleuterion, while behind it the terrain has been left in its original rocky state. This is probably the rock on which the Sibyl Herophyle first gave her oracles. A tall Ionic column, built by the Naxians The temple, on which the famous Sphinx stood, towered over the entire site. A little further on, one reached the circular festival site, the Halos (threshing floor), where the aforementioned symbolic depiction of the slaying of the Python took place.
- Immediately behind the Naxians' column rises the wall of the temple terraces; it was covered with inscriptions containing decrees of the Amphictyones, lists of victors, and charters and the release of slaves. Between this wall and the Halos stood the Athenian Stoa, with columns, built in the Ionic style. This stoa was probably built in gratitude for the victory achieved at Salamis in 480 BC; later (428 BC), Phormion added trophies from captured ships. Next to the southwest corner stood a Nike of Paionios, probably a copy of the one found at Olympia.
- Several monuments also stood on the east side of the temple terrace, among which the Plataean Tripod is particularly noteworthy. It rested on a base that has been recovered. The central support formed the famous serpent column, and at the top was a golden basin, stolen during the Sacred War. Later, the tripod was taken to Constantinople and can still be seen there in the so-called AT-Meidan. Of the Doric temple of Apollo, which was naturally the principal sanctuary, only the foundations remain; yet, thanks to the Greek writer Pausanias, we know what this temple looked like in ancient times. The sanctuary had been rebuilt, or rebuilt, several times. The oldest temple, according to legend, was formed of laurel trees; the branches of these stemmed from the sacred laurel in Tempe. Next came a temple built by bees from wax. Apollo replaced it with a copper temple; however, this melted in a fire and sank into the earth's fissure.
- After this, a fourth temple, made of stone, was erected by the master builders

Trophonios and Agamedes. After they had completed their work, they asked the god for a reward, which he promised them by the seventh day. When that day arrived, they died the following night. This temple, however, burned down in 548 BC: money was collected from all the Greeks for a new one; even the Egyptian king contributed. The

4030 Alcmaeonides, expelled from Athens, undertook the construction for the sum of 300 talents. They built it more expensively than the contract required, but naturally won the favor of the priests of Delphi; the architect was Spintharus of Corinth. In front of the temple was the great altar of burnt offering, and nearby was the

4035 statue of a wolf, the animal dedicated to Apollo. On its head, the Delphians had the decree engraved, granting the Spartans who had assisted them the right of promanteia (to consult the oracle on behalf of others). Pericles, however, had the same decree engraved on the back, in favor of the Athenians. Entering the pronaos (forehall), one first saw the golden inscriptions: Gnóothi Seauton (Know Thyself) and Mèden Agaán

4040 (Nothing Too Much), both sayings of the Seven Sages; beside these inscriptions stood the image of Homer. The temple cella was 100 feet long and decorated with Doric columns on the outside and Ionic columns on the inside. Here stood the statue of Apollo, and before it the Hestia (hearth) where the eternal fire was maintained by a widow; this hearth was considered the common center of all, and also the center of

4045 the entire Greek world. Zeus, in order to discover the center of the earth, had once sent two eagles flying towards each other from east to west, and they had met at this spot.

Near the hestia stood the iron chair of Pindar, on which the pious singer had praised Apollo with his hymns. For he was accustomed to offering hymns to the god instead of sacrifices. Moreover, the cella contained a statue of Poseidon, the statues of two

4050 Moiragios (the Fates), along with those of Zeus Moiragetes and Apollo Moiragates (the leader of fate).

Behind the cella was a room intended as a waiting room for those who wished to consult the oracle. This was followed by the Holy of Holies, the adyton, where the cleft of the earth was located, from which the familiar vapors arose. A colossal

4055 tripod, made of wood and plated with gold, was erected there, and above it was a seat.

After observing the omens, the Pythia, having first drunk water from the Kastalia spring and taken a laurel leaf in her mouth, proceeded to the adyton and sat on the tripod. The vapors rising from the earth caused her to enter a kind of ecstasy and

4060 emit incoherent sounds. These words were then written down in hexameter form by so-called prophets; however, these verses, too, were not easy for the interrogator to understand. Therefore, they went to the professional interpreters to find out from them what the meaning of the oracle was.

The large terrace, which extended along the entire south wall of the temple,

4065 contained the much-sung laurel and myrtle forest; in the center of this we also find the the ancient sanctuary of Gaia, who, as we saw, was the first to possess the oracle. To the southeast probably rose the mast with three golden stars, which the Aeginites had dedicated here after the Battle of Salamis; further along stood the pedestal where Perseus of Macedonia intended to place his statue. Aemilius, however,

4070 who had defeated him, had his own placed there. The temple's great altar was a foundation of the inhabitants of Chios, erected around 520 BC. A little to the north stood an elegant acanthus column depicting dancing maidens. Golden tripods, which Gelo of Syracuse and his brothers had dedicated after the victory at Himera (480 BC), were also located here. The well-known bronze charioteer also originally stood here.

4075 North of these Sicilian votive offerings, the Thessalian Daochos had nine statues of himself and his ancestors erected. Opposite the northwestern corner of the temple is a room where Craterus had his famous lion hunt, during which he saved Alexander the Great's life, immortalized by Leochares and Lysippus. The theater is located behind this. The space intended for the spectators remains in relatively good condition,

4080 although the stage has been destroyed. In the very northern part of the peribolus was the Lesche of the Cnidians, a kind of lounge. On the right-hand wall, according to Pausanias, there was a depiction of the destruction of Troy, painted by Polygnotus, and on the left-hand wall, an image of the Underworld.

Not far from the main entrance is the Kastalia spring. Its water springs from the

4085 rock face, which has been carved into a large, square basin. Below it is a large niche, in which a small chapel of Saint John has now been built. In the Kastalia basin, all who wished to enter the temple had to purify themselves by bathing. Even today, the water from the spring, though it has lost its reputation for holiness, is still held in high esteem. Every afternoon, one can still see the mules, hung on both

4090 sides with barrels and driven by boys and girls, making their way to the spring to fetch the wonderful, cool water so precious in these arid regions.

It is a picturesque sight to see these groups gather at the spring, especially in the evening, when the sun is already setting behind the mountains and from the heights of

4095 Parnassus one sees a magnificent panorama before one, one that one will not forget for the rest of one's life. This spot of land, chosen by the Greeks as the dwelling place of their light god Apollo, who knew how to banish the darkness of the future with his light and to whom people came from far and wide to hear the pronouncements of his oracle, is truly beautiful. We would now like to take a short stroll through the Museum, which is located near the excavations. The building, constructed through 4100 the generosity of Syngros, consists of a main building and two wings. In front of the entrance stands a marble sarcophagus depicting the Calydonian hunt. Entering the main hall, we first see the relatively well-preserved bronze statue of the Charioteer, which was found near the temple. Along with it were a portion of a horse and an arm. All of this belonged to the votive offering that Polyzalos had 4105 erected in gratitude for a victory won in a chariot race. It is believed that this Polyzalos was the brother of Gelo and Hiero of Syracuse. The charioteer stands before us at full length; the folds of his garment are not unlike the fluting of a column; probably some of these folds, which appear somewhat monotonous, were covered by the chariot's body. The bronze workmanship is very fine; 4110 the face with its full chin, the expressive eyes, and the hair—all these elements lend the work a high value.

The next room is known as "The Treasury of the Athenians." The metopes that once stood on the outside of this treasury are attached to the walls. They depict the deeds of Hercules and Theseus. Five metopes depict the theft of Geryones' cattle; a 4115 sixth shows a centaur fallen against an opponent (Hercules), who places his foot on his neck. A seventh depiction shows the battle with the Nemean lion, while an eighth metope depicts the capture of the bull. The rest all seem to depict deeds of Theseus, primarily his battle against the Amazons. In one depiction, we see the young Theseus, wearing a helmet, fighting an 4120 Amazon; On the other side, the defeat of the Minotaur and the bull of Marathon is depicted. In the center of the hall, one sees Amazons on horseback, the acroteria of the top of the sanctuary.

On the right wing is the Greco-Roman hall, or the Monument of Pydna. The monument commemorates the defeat of King Perseus of Macedonia (168 BC); inscriptions appear on 4125 all four sides and are decorated with a frieze in relief. Opposite the Macedonians, recognizable by their beautifully decorated shields, are barbarians, almost completely naked; they represent the allies of the Roman people. The Romans themselves are not visible, but their cavalry is. In front of this monument are the Three Dancing Maidens (Karyatides); the support on which they are placed is decorated 4130 with acanthus leaves; they form a beautiful base for a tripod or other votive offering. The clothing of these maidens and the garlands of palm leaves have identified them as the Dancers of Karyae, from which the name Caryatides derives, which are also known to be found at the Erechtheion in Athens.

We now return to the entrance and reach the hall of the Temple of Apollo. On the 4135 right, we find a large relief depicting a youth with outstretched arms; a boy stands beside him. The first figure is usually interpreted as a depiction of Apollo; however, it is probably Apoxyomenos, with an attendant. Fragments of marble statues from the temple of the Alcmaeonides depict lions tearing bulls; two female figures are also seen, each holding her dress in her left hand; on 4140 the left wall are depicted scenes from the battle between Athena and the giant Enceladus.

Five reliefs were also placed in this hall. On the first, we see the ship Argo; round shields, on the outside, represent the warriors on board; to the side stand two 4145 figures playing a lyre, one of whom is probably Orpheus. At each end stands a horseman, apparently Castor and Pollux. In a second relief, Pollux, Idas, and Castor drive the stolen Arcadian ox before them; the division of this ox was the cause of the disagreement between them. Each figure holds two spears in their left hand and a third in their right. The third relief depicts the abduction of Europa on the bull; the story of the Calydonian boar is the subject of the fourth relief; in the image, 4150 the remains of a dog can be seen beneath the wild animal. The last relief is severely damaged; it is suspected that it represents the ram on which Phrixus and Helle were seated when they fled the ambushes of their stepmother Ino.

East of the temple, a large Omphalos, the stone we mentioned earlier, was found; on it were depicted woolen ribbons; however, this was probably not the original 4155 omphalos, as it was covered with real woolen ribbons. Between this and the next room stand the statues of two youths from the Archaic period. On the pedestal of the best-preserved statue, an inscription tells us that the sculptor was an Argive. They closely resemble the well-known Apollo statues, with their round, slightly smiling faces. They probably date from the 7th century BC. It is believed that these statues 4160 represent Cleobis and Biton, whom "Tus tells us about" in his history. He relates (1:31) that Solon, the Athenian philosopher, once visited Croesus, the king of the Lydians. One day, the king, who was known for his wealth, had Solon led through all

his treasures. Then he asked him who he considered the happiest man in the world. Solon awarded the first prize to a certain Tellus, an Athenian, and the second to the young men Cleobis and Biton, from Argos. One day, their mother had to be brought to the temple of the goddess Hera, but the oxen were not present in time. The young men then themselves drew their mother to the temple, a distance of 45 stadia (a stadium is approximately 182 meters). The celebrants praised the mother. They were fortunate to have such fine sons. The mother then prayed to the goddess to grant them that which is happiest for mankind. After this prayer, they lay down to sleep in the temple and never rose again. By this, the goddess had shown that death is happiest for mankind. The Argives subsequently had statues made of them and dedicated them at Delphi.

We have now approached the last room of the museum, that of the Treasury of the Cnidians, or, according to some, Pomtiov, the Siphnians. The sculptures on the facades of the completely destroyed building have been recovered so completely that it has been possible to reconstruct it in its entirety. As we have already seen, the building was in the form of a templum in antis; instead of the usual columns, the roof of the vestibule is supported by the statues of two girls. They remind us of the priestesses of the Acropolis and are perhaps the precursors of the Caryatides of the Erechtheion. Along the entire building frieze opens. On the north side, it depicts the Gigantomachy; first, we see a man, slightly stooped, holding an object in his hand that resembles a bag. This is Aeolus, the god of the winds, who sets his storms in motion against the giants. Next, two goddesses are engaged in battle with giants. The giants are depicted in normal human form. In the background, we see Hercules, with a lion's skin wrapped around his neck and arms; he is battling a giant with his lance. Dionysus, wearing a long robe and a panther skin, rides into the fray with his chariot, drawn by lions. A little further on, Apollo and Diana stand with their bows. Ephialtes lies dead at their feet; another giant is about to flee, while three others approach in close column. Then Hermes appears, fighting with a sword and recognizable by his conical headdress; the other figures are no longer identifiable. On the other side, one sees the remains of the eastern frieze; this depicts the battle between Menelaus and a Trojan hero (perhaps Hector) for the body of Euphorbos, while Meriones assists the former and Aeneas the latter. The names of these figures can be determined from the inscriptions. The left half is occupied by an assembly of the gods. The second half shows a battle scene. It is also worth mentioning the depiction that adorned the western façade, the enigmatic battle over the tripod between Apollo and Hermes; Athena, positioned in the center, seems to separate the combatants; it is said that the Dorians once attempted to place their hero, Heracles, in place of the Ionian Apollo; this could explain the depiction. In the same room is also the aforementioned Column of the Naxians, upon which the Sphinx was placed.

We have now completed our tour; a visit to Delphi will leave an unforgettable impression on anyone.